1776--OUR FIRST BIG AMERICAN PUBLICITY JOB

THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

AN AMERICAN

By WINOLD REISS

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE--AND AFTER

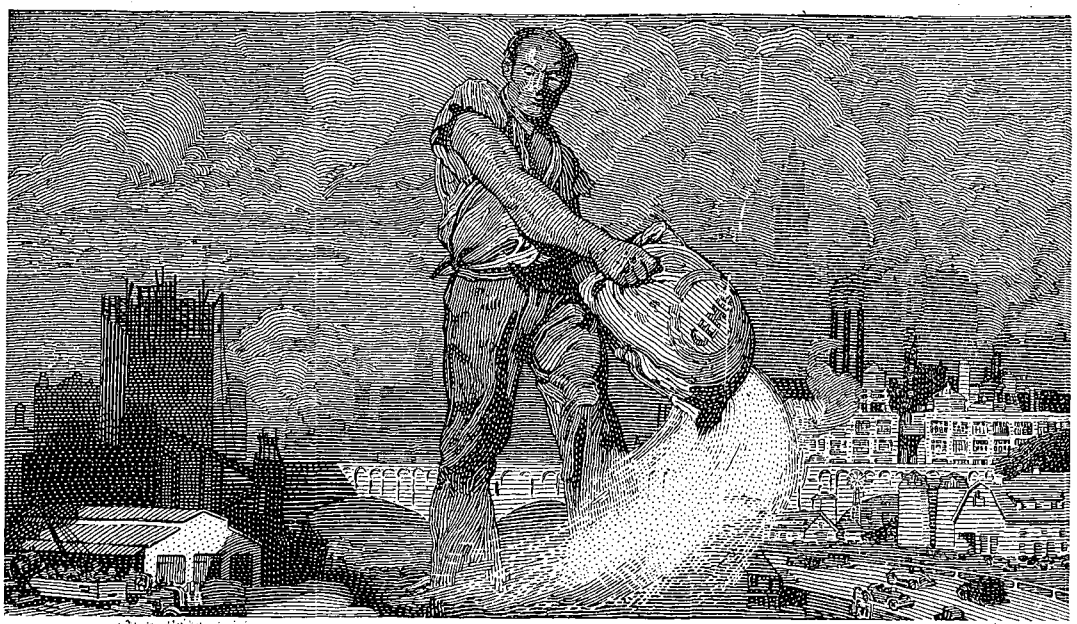
S. K. RATCLIFFE, HAROLD J. LASKI, CORNELIA STRATTON PARKER, WILFRED H. CROOK, ARTHUR GREENWOOD, S. ADELE SHAW, ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

30 cents a copy

JUL 1 1926

$5.00 a year



GOOD ROADS—FARM BUILDINGS—WAREHOUSES—SKYSCRAPERS

All out of the Magic Sack of Cement!

The completely electrified cement industry has given us not only farm buildings, factories, warehouses, and skyscrapers, but 30,000 miles of permanent hard roads.

With only five times the labor, but with fifteen times as much electricity, cement production has increased thirty-fold in 25 years.

A magnificent example to other American industries that, by electrifying, they could do a great deal more work with only a few more workers.

Housewives are learning—as business men have already learned—that electricity is the cheapest servant; and that where it is used most freely, more work and better work is done at the lowest cost in money and in human strength as well.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

7-42-E

THE SURVEY, published semi-monthly and copyright 1926 by SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc., 112 East 19th Street, New York. Price: this copy (July 1, 1926; Vol. LVI, No. 7) 30 cts.; $5 a year; foreign postage, $1 extra; Canadian 60 cts. Changes of address should be mailed to us two weeks in advance. When payment is by check a receipt will be sent only by request. Entered as second-class matter, March 25, 1909, at the post office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at a special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 26, 1918. President, Robert W. de Forest. Secretary, Ann Reed Brenner. Treasurer, Arthur Kellogg.

COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Analytic Index to This Number

July 1, 1926

The Law and Lawbreakers:

Lack of lawlessness in the general strike, pp. 410, 412
The legality of the general strike, p. 416

The Promotion of Health:

Distribution of milk during the British strike, p. 414

Mental Hygiene;

Havelock Ellis and the sanity of sex, p. 433

Organizing Social Forces:

Cooperation of the press and social organizations, p. 434

Town Planning:

Recreation in New York, p. 428
City planning in New York, p. 431
The press and municipal problems, p. 435
A city housing development, p. 436

The City Community:

Civic organization for a strike, p. 414

The Country Community:

Agriculture in Russia, p. 431
Radio religion in rural districts, p. 432

Industrial Conditions:

Wage scale in British mines, pp. 408, 420
The Miners Welfare Fund, p. 421
The coal situation in the United States, p. 426

Industrial Relations:

The preliminaries of the British general strike, p. 409
Volunteer service during the strike, pp. 411, 419
Government negotiations with the miners, p. 421-22
Miners and operators in the United States, p. 427
Capitalism and socialism in Russia, p. 431
International coal agreements, p. 437

Social Invention in Industry:

Nationalization of coal, p. 420
The world trade in coal, p. 423
Hydro-electric power in Europe, p. 425
A broader view of electrical power, p. 430
Decentralization of industry, p. 436

Peace and International Relations:

Great Britain and the Colonies, p. 405
American trade with Russia, p. 430

Motives and Ideals:

The propaganda of the Declaration of Independence, p. 405
The spirit of the British general strike, pp. 410, 412, 419
The unity of the state, p. 417
Power supply and human welfare, p. 430
Revolutionary ideals and Russia, p. 431
Radio and the brotherhood of man, p. 432
Furthering social progress through print, p. 434

THREE WORDS THAT MAY ADD YEARS TO YOUR LIFE

You are the average man or woman. You want to live a long and active life. You want to prolong the years of your earning power to the utmost.

Get Yourself Examined

Don't worry about your health. Don't watch yourself live. But, on the other hand, don't burry your head in the sand like an ostrich and simply hope for the best. "Watch out."

Get Yourself Examined

About 300,000 men over twenty years of age will die in this country this year of heart-disease, kidney-disease, apoplexy, cancer, and tuberculosis. Who will these men be? Certainly not many of the men who protected themselves by frequent physical examinations.

Get Yourself Examined

Remember that the human machine does not run down like a clock. It generally breaks down. It is the constant strain at some already weakened spot that generally causes the smash-up. Find out your weak spots.—If you take good care of your human machine it will take good care of you.

Get Yourself Examined

The Life Extension Institute was organized to provide you with a critical physical examination of your whole life and body for the purpose of discovering any unfavorable factors which may be causing a present lowered condition of your health or threatening your future health.

Get Yourself Examined

The founders of the Institute believe that fifteen to twenty years can be added to the average life by following out the system which it advocates. Since the Institute was organized over 400,000 men and women have taken its health examinations, and knowledge of the Institute's scientific work has reached into every part of the world. No medical treatment is given by the Institute. Back of the Institute's scientific policy is the Hygiene Reference Board of leading physicians, scientists and public health authorities.

Get Yourself Examined

The Institute's examinations are available at its head offices in New York, Boston or Chicago or in the subscriber's home town or city. Write, telephone, or visit the Institute for further information and for its free booklet, "How to Live Long."

LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE, Inc.
25 WEST 43rd STREET, NEW YORK CITY
Telephone: Vanderbilt 1494

Send me, free of charge, further information about your health services and your free book "How to Live Long" *and other free reprints on health and hygiene.*

Name.....

Address.....

SG-6-11

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Is the Most Interesting Thing You Know About PLAY FOR GROWN-UPS?

Write an account of it for The Survey—You may win a prize of $250 and help the recreation movement

THE president of Colgate University has written a book which he calls The Threat of Leisure. Does leisure threaten you? Your colleagues? Your neighbors or clients?

Most of us agree that it is up to the government, which is (theoretically) all of us, to provide play-space for the children, and to give them enough leadership and oversight in their play, at least in the great cities, to take the place of the socializing factors of family and neighborhood influence which our disjointed civilization seems to have weakened.

Has anybody found a way of setting the stage for grown-ups to play? Millions of dollars are sunk in investments in commercialized amusement. Millions of dollars are spent by Americans in buying ready-made diversion—the movies, radio, the evening "newspaper," the Sunday parade of flivvers. Has anybody a clue to a way in which adults can be helped to do something, to make play for themselves?

Has anybody traced the efforts which special groups with a lively sense of their own identity—a Bohemian sokol, for example, or a clothing workers' local—have made to provide play facilities for themselves? Do they succeed? Does this sort of recreation from the group up work as well as recreation programs from the expert down?

Has anybody thought seriously about luring the pavement-bound city man or woman into the parks and then finding something for him to *do* there beside pet and picnic? Into the great state and national parks?

Who has a successful workshop where grown-ups come to potter or weave or carpenter just for the fun of it—as children do in the experimental schools—and so learn through and in play how to work out satisfactions for the inner man?

If you have a bit of experience, or a stretch of community history or a pet theory that has its feet on the ground, that relates to any of these questions, write it down and offer it for The Survey's second quarterly competition under the Harmon Awards.

There are three prizes of $250, $100 and $50 offered by the Harmon Foundation through Survey Associates; for the three months ending September 30 next.

The winning papers will be published in The Survey and in collaborating newspapers.

CONDITIONS

MANUSCRIPTS must be not less than 1,000 nor more than 2,500 words in length, typewritten, double-spaced, on one side of the paper.

DELIVERY must be made not later than noon of September 30, 1926.

ADDRESS them to Jury, Harmon-Survey Award 3, care of The Survey, 112 East 19 Street, New York city.

IDENTIFICATION must be by means of a pen-name signed to the manuscript, with an accompanying plain, sealed envelope having on the outside the pen-name, and on the inside both pen-name and the real name and address of the author.

Manuscripts are sent at the owner's risk, and none will be returned unless accompanied by sufficient postage.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.
112 East 19 Street, New York

PUBLISHERS

THE SURVEY—Twice-a-month—$5.00 a year
SURVEY GRAPHIC—Monthly—$3.00 a year

ROBERT W. DEFOREST, *President*
JULIAN W. MACK, V. EVERIT MACY, *Vice-Presidents*
ANN REED BRENNER, *Secretary*
ARTHUR KELLOGG, *Treasurer*

PAUL U. KELLOGG, *Editor*

Associate Editors

JOSEPH K. HART — HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.
GEDDES SMITH — ROBERT W. BRUÈRE
MARY ROSS — SARA MERRILL
LEON WHIPPLE — BEULAH AMIDON

Contributing Editors

EDWARD T. DEVINE — GRAHAM TAYLOR
JANE ADDAMS — FLORENCE KELLEY

ARTHUR KELLOGG, *Manager*
JOHN D. KENDERDINE, *Business Manager*
MARY R. ANDERSON, *Advertising*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LVI, No. 7 July 1, 1926

CONTENTS

FRONTISPIECE: a fac-simile of Dunlap's poster of the Declaration of Independence . . . 404

THE FIRST GREAT AMERICAN PUBLICITY JOB . . . . *Walter Lincoln Whittlesey* 405

ENGLAND EMERGES . . . *S. K. Ratcliffe* 408

PLUS-FOURS TO THE RESCUE . . . . . *Cornelia Stratton Parker* 411

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE: WHAT IT WAS AND WHAT IT WAS NOT . . *Harold J. Laski* 416

BRITAIN'S MORNING AFTER . . . . . *Wilfrid H. Crook* 419

COAL: THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM . . *Arthur Greenwood* 420

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF COAL: HAS IT BEGUN? . . . . . *S. Adele Shaw* 423

NEXT? . . . . . *Robert W. Bruère* 426

CONEY ISLAND 1926. Linoleum cuts by . . . *Margaret Schloemann* 428

EDITORIALS 430

LETTERS & LIFE 432

The Gist of It

AMID sesquicentennial flourishes Walter Lincoln Whittlesey recreates the background of freedom and liberty bells in 'seventy-six (p. 405). Here are John Locke and General Wolfe, Richard Henry Lee and Caesar Rodney all playing their parts in the drama that resulted in "the creed of our aspiring frontier democracy."

HEADING a group of writers on the British general strike, S. K. Ratcliffe is well known to Survey readers for his keen and timely interpretation of social politics in Great Britain (p. 408).

AGAIN Cornelia Stratton Parker descends on what would be thought the most turbulent spot in Europe and returns with a breezy account of its unturbulence, telling how Britishers carried on in the face of disaster, how workers and milk were transported during those nine days of May with little friction and much good nature, while dukes and duchesses rode on bicycles (p. 411).

AN analysis of the strike in terms of the "problem in political philosophy" and the "problem in political method" is H. J. Laski's contribution (p. 416). Mr. Laski, formerly of Harvard and today a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics, is an expert on constitutional law.

PROFESSOR CROOK gives his impressions of England just after the strike, which he saw fresh from America and fresh from a study of general strikes for his doctor's thesis. He is associated with the Department of Economics and Sociology at Bowdoin College—an Englishman who has lived fifteen years in this country (p. 419).

ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P. is known to Survey readers for an occasional article (July 1923) and for his long career as writer and worker in labor and cooperative movements. He is the author of Civilization in the Melting Pot and England Today. During the war he was secretary to the Ministry of Reconstruction and is an official of the British Labour Party. On page 420 he analyzes the British coal problem.

S. ADELE SHAW, who discusses the coal situation in international terms (p. 423), was formerly managing editor of The Survey. Among her recent industrial studies was a report made to the Cabot Fund on the extent to which the twelve hour day has been abolished in the steel industry; this she outlined for The Survey in September 1924. The present article is based on recent interviews and studies in England and the continent.

AFTER the termination of the Jacksonville Agreement, what will happen next in the bituminous coal industry in the United States? Robert W. Bruère says that, "in spite of our more fortunate economic situation, our more abundant natural resources, our more modern technical equipment, our higher level of economic well being, we are perversely permitting the story of our coal industry to repeat the British record of neglect, drift, and mismanagement, and like the British we are visiting the costs of sloth and incompetence upon the miners." (p. 426).

MARGARET SCHLOEMANN whose work in black and white has often enlivened the pages of The Survey, gives here in a series of linoleum cuts, a record and an interpretation of a city's playground and the mood which it invokes. This is the story of Coney Island—told as that story should be told—in pictures.

AMONG the articles scheduled for the August Graphic is Prohibition in the Long Run by Sir Arthur Newsholme, eminent in public health work in Great Britain and contributor to The Survey's City Health number of November 1925, in which he traces the course of alcoholic control through revolutionary shifts in public policy. Romain Rolland writes on Syria and the Riff and what lies back of them; on the underlying situation south and east of the Mediterranean in which oppressor and oppressed are bound together. And, as one of a series of articles inspired by the anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, Bernhard Ragner tells of Casualties of the Peace, the "temperamentally disabled" victims of war.

AND on May 30 Mrs. Parker shook British soil from her skirts and flew (literally) to Paris where she watched the meetings of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance which she will review in the August issue of Survey Graphic, not as a report of business done, but in an article interpreting the issues and personalities which lie back of the convention. Sensitive to the women's movement on its feminist side, and at the same time with a realistic experience of what minimum wage and other labor legislation means to unorganized women and girls, she was eminently fitted to be an "unofficial observer."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes neceſſary for one People to diſſolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the Powers of the Earth, the ſeparate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reſpect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the Separation.

WE hold theſe Truths to be ſelf-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among theſe are Life, Liberty, and the Purſuit of Happineſs—That to ſecure theſe Rights, Governments are inſtituted among Men, deriving their juſt Powers from the Conſent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes deſtructive of theſe Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to aboliſh it, and to inſtitute new Government, laying its Foundation on ſuch Principles, and organizing its Powers in ſuch Form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their Safety and Happineſs. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient Cauſes; and accordingly all Experience hath ſhewn, that Mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while Evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the Forms to which they are accuſtomed. But when a long Train of Abuſes and Uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame Object, evinces a Deſign to reduce them under abſolute Deſpotiſm, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off ſuch Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of theſe Colonies; and ſuch is now the Neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former Syſtems of Government. The Hiſtory of the preſent King of Great-Britain is a Hiſtory of repeated Injuries and Uſurpations, all having in direct Object the Eſtabliſhment of an abſolute Tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let Facts be ſubmitted to a candid World.

HE has refuſed his Aſſent to Laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public Good.

HE has forbidden his Governors to paſs Laws of immediate and preſſing Importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their Operation till his Aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

HE has refuſed to paſs other Laws for the Accommodation of large Diſtricts of People, unleſs thoſe People would relinquiſh the Right of Repreſentation in the Legiſlature, a Right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

HE has called together Legiſlative Bodies at Places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the Depoſitory of their public Records, for the ſole Purpoſe of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Meaſures.

HE has diſſolved Repreſentative Houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly Firmneſs his Invaſions on the Rights of the People.

HE has refuſed for a long Time, after ſuch Diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the Legiſlative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exerciſe; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the Dangers of Invaſion from without, and Convulſions within.

HE has endeavoured to prevent the Population of theſe States; for that Purpoſe obſtructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raiſing the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

HE has obſtructed the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, by refuſing his Aſſent to Laws for eſtabliſhing Judiciary Powers.

HE has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

HE has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and ſent hither Swarms of Officers to harraſs our People, and eat out their Subſtance.

HE has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the conſent of our Legiſlatures.

HE has affected to render the Military independent of and ſuperior to the Civil Power.

HE has combined with others to ſubject us to a Juriſdiction foreign to our Conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Aſſent to their Acts of pretended Legiſlation:

FOR quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

FOR protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Puniſhment for any Murders which they ſhould commit on the Inhabitants of theſe States:

FOR cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

FOR impoſing Taxes on us without our Conſent:

FOR depriving us, in many Caſes, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

FOR tranſporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

FOR abolishing the free Syſtem of Engliſh Laws in a neighbouring Province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an Example and fit Inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute Rule into theſe Colonies:

FOR taking away our Charters, abolishing our moſt valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

FOR ſuſpending our own Legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with Power to legiſlate for us in all Caſes whatſoever.

HE has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War againſt us.

HE has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coaſts, burnt our Towns, and deſtroyed the Lives of our People.

HE is, at this Time, tranſporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Deſolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumſtances of Cruelty and Perfidy, ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

HE has conſtrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms againſt their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themſelves by their Hands.

HE has excited domeſtic Inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the mercileſs Indian Savages, whoſe known Rule of Warfare, is an undiſtinguiſhed Deſtruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

IN every ſtage of theſe Oppreſſions we have Petitioned for Redreſs in the moſt humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been anſwered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whoſe Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

NOR have we been wanting in Attentions to our Britiſh Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legiſlature to extend an unwarrantable Juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumſtances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Juſtice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to diſavow theſe Uſurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Juſtice and of Conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the Neceſſity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

WE, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly Publiſh and Declare, That theſe United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are abſolved from all Allegiance to the Britiſh Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, eſtabliſh Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the ſupport of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our ſacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER *and in* BEHALF *of the* CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ATTEST.
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

DUNLAP'S POSTER

This immortal piece of political propaganda in a great cause was sent out early in July, 1776, to all our state governments and army commanders; later it was reprinted and billboarded throughout all our new States. Dunlap's poster is paragraphed and capitalized to intensify the thrill of Jefferson's rhetoric and to drive home his twenty-seven smashing indictments of that king from whom our country was severing allegiance. Franklin saw to the press work and did it like master printer he was.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

JULY 1, 1926

Volume LVI, No. 7

The First Great American Publicity Job

By WALTER LINCOLN WHITTLESEY

"The American Revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority, who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love, and in leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede."

—William Edward Hartpole Lecky.

OUR comfortless friends, the psychiatrists, have a saying to the general effect that the human race was possessed of muscles for about two hundred thousand years before we had much of anything else; that the next acquisition, emotions, was not improved upon for perhaps an equal space; while brains are a thing of yesterday. Taking our view thus, in the very large, we may see the great historic crises chiefly as enjoyable outbreaks of muscular activity, occurring in a satisfactory haze of emotion, and steered by the minds of the few. Those chronological diluters of politics who are called historians will then rationalize whatever success is won.

The toil of the men of '76 deserves more justice than that, and is not likely to get it. But the truth for which many of them died will some day be seen as it was, not to their greater glory, but rather to clear from history's record the indictment of mental laziness and dishonesty which now lies against our own age.

We were in the British empire longer than we have been out of it. When in, we had little or no government, partly because those king-pins of authority, the policeman and the tax-collector, had not yet been devised in anything approaching their modern technic; partly also because America was settled to lessen and to get away from government.

Before about 1775 we were loyal, in form, to a king who never came over here; obedient, when we chose, to a law-making Parliament which could not enforce its laws over us save by means of ourselves; governed, when we did not prevent it, by an authority which hardly existed at all save in towns and near harbors. From Vermont to Georgia our frontiering Americans pushed their settlements up and inland, sure of their own strength to hold and endure, provided only no power were in control over them. Free men in a free and open land, fed and housed by their own toil, in comfort beyond the dreams of Europe, but having freedom chiefly through absence of rulers.

Eighteenth century European government built an authority of the few under whose force the many could live. It was safer than lawlessness, more conducive to prosperity than mob-rule. But since it held the purse it was not held in affection. Common folks might see and use money only perhaps three or four times a year. Taxes were thus a grievous lessening of scanty cash. Men were imprisoned for debt until their earning power was gone and their families broken up in poverty. Jail sentences too often meant death by jail fever. Stout fellows impressed into the navy or army were brutally disciplined, badly kept, used in wars which won no victory for them, and returned home wrecks, if at all. Freedom meant getting rid of government.

Land was the great wellspring of wealth. Government recognized no titles thereto save its own and these were often to be maintained in law-suits which the common man could neither afford nor understand. Security of ownership depended, it seemed to the common man, on keeping government weak and transitory. Government was constantly in-

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness

"Glittering generalities," a scoffer once called them. "Blazing ubiquities," Emerson retorted. But what, after all, did their pursuit mean to the frontiersmen and small farmers who made up nine-tenths of the American colonists 150 years ago? What chords in the common life responded to the touch of Jefferson's "matchless orchestrations of liberalism"? The assistant professor of politics at Princeton University, who within the past year has brought out the results of fresh research into the circumstances surrounding the Declaration, gives here the social matrix of what was to become "the creed of our aspiring frontier democracy"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terfering in matters of religion, then vital, and usually did so for political purposes. The ages of persecution were not so surely over by 1775. Religious liberty, to the average Christian, meant depriving all the churches save his own of political favor and political power. A government office was not then a place where you got service but where you paid fees.

This close-corporation monopoly-rule of the few ill suited the advancing, expanding, liberalizing trend of that wonderful eighteenth century. Progress depended on weakening government. The philosophers who felt this fact led our Revolution and the lawyers, for once, were its servants. Our precedents were those British over-turnings of 1645 and 1688 which put the Puritans in power a while and, later, William and Mary on the English throne. Our doctrines were written out by John Locke, son of a Puritan army officer, in his essay on government which justified the Declaration of Right of 1689 and the expulsion of James II. This book became practically the official college text of politics in all our colonies because it furnished the best answer to the Stuart pretensions of kingship. But it also furnished the dynamic argument for legislative resistance to colonial governors and, later, for united resistance to George III. (Not Locke but Key!)

WHEN in 1759 General Wolfe fell before Quebec on the Plains of Abraham, his victory had conquered North America for the colonists, and they knew it. John Adams had prophesied this possibility when teaching school at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1755. About 1757 Lord Camden suggested it to Benjamin Franklin. The French foreign minister, Choiseul, makes a memorandum for his king in February, 1765:

> Only the revolution which will occur some day in America, though we shall probably not see it, will put England back to that state of weakness in which Europe will have no more to fear of her.

That is the political stage on which our drama of revolution was played out. What did it mean to the common man? Trouble. Rumors of unrest and change, of dim far-off fighting which might yet at any moment put upon him the task of helping defend his own bit of countryside. Uncertainty of whom to trust, an atmosphere of tense suspicion on court days and market days! In scarce and scanty newspapers, by pamphlet, poster and word of mouth, an unceasing agitation which aimed always ahead at some gaol of new things and unattempted ways. A time that tried men's souls for thirty years and more.

By slavery and sectarianism, by war and Indian fighting, by all the dangers of frontier life, our American temper had been edged and hardened to a degree difficult now to appreciate. The propaganda of revolution was as seed sown on favorable fields. There were thirteen such fields, or more, and the methods used were even more numrous. Every form of protest from plaintive memorials to plundering mobs was used to help on our independence.

Our national convention was the Continental Congress, intended, as the name says, to be a gathering of diplomats from all the hitherto unconnected states of North America. This body might have made itself, like the Long Parliament of Puritan England, a power to rule the land, but it did not. Each separate colonial legislature felt itself, as Madison noted, to be a parliament and supreme in its own area. Franklin got them to adopt the phrase United States, but not the fact.

Nor did that Continental Congress seek any re-cementing of relations with Great Britain. Those who held by the Crown were quiescent in their lulling certainty that this storm too would blow by and leave the empire undissolved. Those who had other views forced their measures to the front; formed and led and enlarged public opinion toward independence; made King George's government impossible over here, and then, formally and tardily, made a few decent reluctant gestures in the general direction of conciliation. Merely a ceremonial locking of political barn doors on the lost horse of allegiance.

While doing this our local patriots enlisted soldiers, commissioned officers, put Washington in Continental command, raised supplies, issued money, levied taxes, appealed to Europe, and fought the King's troops from Georgia to the St. Lawrence River—all as loyal subjects of the Crown! After Bunker Hill Samuel Adams wrote his wife news of the British General Gage's red-coats, "the rebel army in Charlestown."

And so we flung our challenge full in the face of the facts—three million scattered people against twelve millions united! For by the elections of 1774 Lord North as prime minister of Great Britain had a solid seven-year majority in the House of Commons. Burgoyne and Clinton and Howe were members of Parliament, votes in Lord North's dominant majority, as well as generals commanding British forces over here. Gibbon, of the Decline and Fall, voted steadily with His Majesty's government, which was favored also by Adam Smith, the great economist, and by Samuel Johnson, man of letters. George Third had his country united behind him.

We then must unite all our thirteen countries and ally with ourselves king-ruled Bourbon France, England's ancient enemy, of twice her population. Independence was all that could save our independence when once our effort to win Canada had failed, and fail it did in the winter snows of 1775-76.

THEREFORE in the hush of a fateful moment on Friday, June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, an aristocrat of over seven hundred years' ancestry, a man whom no slave would betray, whom common people loved as Confederate soldiers loved his cousin's grandson, rose up in the Continental Congress to offer "Resolved that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Despite the fairy pictures with which Independence Hall is now hung, that hour is real. Followed four days' discussion, then three weeks' postponement. The essential political work of lining up the separate states for formal ratification of an act already actually accomplished was not yet complete. By July 1 this had been done, and in a committee of the whole house the resolution was agreed to, New York not voting, Delaware deadlocked, Pennsylvania and South Carolina opposed.

That means adoption, insures independence, when the committee reports in due form to the House. But Rutledge wants another day to convert his South Carolinians. An arrangement is pending by which John Dickinson and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, both staunch patriots who yet

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feel that this is not the appropriate time, will be present but not in their seats, which action aligns Pennsylvania three to two for separation instead of four to three against. A day's delay and, on July 2, in the Congress itself, every State that speaks is for Independence. Eleven colonies to none!

And right there for so good a lawyer as John Adams, second President of the United States, our country's separate existence begins.

BUT popular support for the war which Washington is heroically leading depends on aroused public opinion and that requires the best of publicity work. The Resolution of Independence must be trumpeted abroad by a Declaration of Independence equally magnificent. After Lee's motion a committee of five to draft this vital paper had been appointed. Franklin lacks eloquence, John Adams is from unpopular Massachusetts, Livingston a blunt New Jersey lawyer, Sherman a plain Connecticut Yankee. Lyrical Thomas Jefferson, wealthy and charming in all the pride of shining success at thirty-three, is the one right man.

We have the paper he wrote in his own hand in four or five hours' time; and the desk on which he wrote is certainly one of the three such desks now cherished. We know the site of the lodging in which that hectic authorship was accomplished.

We can mark for ourselves the five hundred-odd volcanic words, mostly scorching the King and the slave trade, which Congress cut out. We can identify the terms and phrases of Christian faith by which Franklin and Congress made Jefferson's eighteenth century high-brow liberalism acceptable to bone-head church-going American patriots. We can see for ourselves the lawyerlike changes in John Adams' handwriting and the shrewd statesmanship of Ben Franklin's editing as in that first paragraph:

Thomas Jefferson wrote:	*Benjamin Franklin re-wrote*:
"a people"	"one People"
"nature's god"	"Nature's God"
"threaten separation"	"the Separation"

Benjamin Franklin brought in unity, Christian orthodoxy, and independence as an achieved fact. His atheistic hack-writing genius, T. Paine, brought from England for the purpose, had already pamphleteered these ideas into the general mind.

Knowing all these documentary details, we can easily assume, as so many do, that the Declaration, since it embodied the Resolution in its closing sentences, must have done the actual legal work of separation from Great Britain. But that work was done, nevertheless, by the Resolution only, and on July 2, 1776.

THE Declaration is just what it is: an immortal piece of political propaganda in a great cause. A skillful piece of publicity work to rally the crowd to support what the determined minority had already done. Committeed, edited, discussed on July 1, 2, 3, and 4, it is finally agreed to in secret on the latter day, then printed and sent out on July 5 and 6 to all our state governments and army commanders. It was first publicly proclaimed in Trenton, New Jersey, on the morning of July 8, then in Philadelphia at noon of the same day, in Princeton, July 9, in City Hall Square, New York, on July 10, and so on to the proclamation and celebration in Savannah, Georgia, on August 10. The next year, 1777, the Fourth of July was everywhere celebrated because that is the date at the top of John Dunlap's printed poster as it was reprinted and billboarded throughout all our new States.

Caesar Rodney by his famous ride had made the agreement to the Declaration on July 4, 1776, unanimous save for New York, uninstructed. The White Plains Convention of July 9 brought New York in and the Philadelphia convention of July 18 made it certain that Pennsylvania would stick. For that forcing of Quaker and pacifist opinion in Pennsylvania, the ragged Continentals were to pay in hardship and death at Valley Forge. The New Englanders of the Continental Congress could swing the state's formal verdict over but could not later make Pennsylvania farmers sell their soldiers food. Nevertheless this Declaration was officially styled "unanimous"; a copy ordered July 19 to be engrossed on parchment, and this was signed at the table when ready, on August 2, and later. This, not the rousing poster which Dunlap printed for Franklin's committee, is the Declaration now treasured at Washington and facsimiled everywhere. It is a formal document, feeble in set-up. Dunlap's poster is paragraphed and capitalized to intensify the thrill of Jefferson's rhetoric and to drive home his twenty-seven smashing indictments of that king from whom our country was severing allegiance. Franklin saw to the press work and did it like the master he was.

JUST as Franklin's phrase of 1776 "the United States" had yet to be fulfilled at Appomattox and Gettysburg, so for common folk the Declaration itself was a promise later to be made real. Perhaps those matchless orchestrations of liberalism which begin and end this paper were, then, merely or chiefly rhetorical. Indeed for the American frontiersman and small farmer, then nine-tenths of us, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were clouded by the embodiment over him of any government, even his own; even though the politics underlying it were fathered by Jefferson himself. Certain it is that the Declaration did not free a slave, nor confer a vote, nor right any wrong anywhere. The works of freedom were still all to do, and are, even to our own day, mostly to do.

The fierce spirit of separatism, which Jefferson's rhetoric inflamed, disabled the drift toward national unity, split off state from state, south from north, west from east, country from town, backwoods from tidewater. The pioneer fought like a tiger to defend his own clearings, but the American army lived only in the strength of Washington's hand and the heroism of his soul.

Perhaps that is why the Declaration was laid aside for forty years, not read even on the Fourth. Revived again, practically by accident, haloed by the death on July 4, 1826, of both Adams and Jefferson, stimulating the fancy of a credulous hot-airing age, gathering to itself myth and fable and bunk as well as the loyalty of men's hearts, the Declaration came to be, as we know it today, the creed of our aspiring frontier democracy. Not seldom it happens that the works of men are greater than they dream and for reasons to which their eyes were blind. And of this sort is the glory of our Declaration of Independence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nine days of May blared their way into history because they brought the English-speaking world face to face for the first time with the General Strike; the great adventure into which radical dreamers have for generations hoped to lead their workfellows. Projected against the subtle stabilities of the British Commonwealth, the strike lost most of its apocryphal terrors. But it remains a deeply illuminating experiment in industrial adjustment. S. K. Ratcliffe traces its dramatic course; Cornelia Stratton Parker fills in the picture with sketches of the British volunteer in action; H. J. Laski analyzes its meaning in terms of industrial and civil struggle; and Wilfrid H. Crook sketches some vignettes of England's "morning after."

England Emerges

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

THERE is at least one thing about the coal crisis and the general strike that may be said simply and dogmatically. It is that we cannot explain the Nine Days of May by looking only at the events of the last week of April, when the prime minister on the one hand and the labor leaders on the other were striving helplessly to avert the catastrophe. As well try to explain the crash of 1914 merely by the diplomatic turns and tricks of the ten fateful days of July. We must, of course, go further back. To July, 1925, many writers in the English press have said, when the threat of a national stoppage led the Government to grant the coal subsidy. But that is not far enough. There are at least two earlier events which have a direct bearing upon our present problem.

The natural starting-point for a study of the general strike is, as it happens, an earlier nine-days strike—that of the railroads in September, 1919. That episode revealed two very important new facts: first, that the Government, making use of its wartime experience, could organize within a few hours an emergency service of food and other supplies; secondly, that the railroads had ceased to be the essential means of transport for either passengers or freight. It was remarked at the time that, by their first great strike after the full development of road traffic, the railroad men had themselves provided the demonstration that the latest revolution in the world of transport had brought a fundamental change in their own economic relation to the community.

Next came, less than two years later (1921), the famous incident of Black Friday: the collapse of the Triple Alliance —that is, the refusal of the railroad and transport unions to stand by the miners in their strike of that year. As the experience of 1919 proved that a railroad strike could be overcome, so the experience of 1921 proved that the mechanism of a general strike was necessarily something very different from that of the Triple Alliance which had so conspicuously failed to function.

THE four years following the strike of 1921 produced neither policy nor promise of policy in relation to our most urgent industrial problem. In the interval the fortunes of the coal industry passed through several stages. Consequent upon events in Europe, the export trade enjoyed a short spell of prosperity. The industry itself was not touched. The Lloyd George cabinet had not attempted legislation upon the famous Sankey report. Three successive Governments had passed the problem by, the brief MacDonald Government being obviously in no position to grapple with it.

When, therefore, in July of last year, the mine-owners made it known that the existing wages scale must be ended, it was apparent that the British coal industry was nearing a crisis that could no longer be evaded. The position of the miners was plain enough. Their standards, seriously lowered since the war, were again being attacked. They were compelled to resist a further reduction of wages. It was as certain as anything could be that the first of August, 1925, would bring a national stoppage.

With extreme reluctance and misgiving the Government met that challenge with the grant of the subsidy. It was given for the purpose of maintaining the wages scale, and for a strictly limited period of nine months, in order that the first steps might be made towards a national reorganization of the industry. Stanley Baldwin was slow in coming to grips with the problem during this respite. He had difficulty in forming his commission of four members, with Sir Herbert Samuel, lately high commissioner of Palestine, as chairman. The commission reported last March. The prime minister announced that he would at once proceed to make its recommendations the basis of legislation, provided the owners and miners agreed to accept the report. That, however, they would not do. The miners declined to accept the recommendation of reduced wages for the higher-paid grades so as to make possible a minimum subsistence wage. The owners were immovable in their hostility to government interference, to a national wage scale, to a regional grouping of the mines, to the establishment of municipal selling, and other provisions favored by the commission. They demanded, as before, longer hours and wage reductions ranging between 20 and 33 per cent.

In such circumstances as these, a conservative Government is almost necessarily impotent when called upon to deal with a basic industrial problem. It can act only under the compulsion of events. Moreover, at the time Mr. Baldwin was absorbed in European affairs and he continued to be so until after the Geneva crisis of March. Therefore matters in the coal industry were allowed to drift, notwithstanding the extreme narrowness of the time margin. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one plain need was for the mine-owners to produce fresh proposals. Those they had submitted to the Samuel commission were altogether unreal. The miners would be locked out at the end of April, unless the owners could be brought to the point of making an offer that the government could take seriously. Meanwhile, as is well known, the whole world was growing accustomed to the prospect of industrial war in Britain. Week by week the correspondents writing from London enlarged upon it. Despatches to the American press in particular were full of foreboding. Wherever I went in the United States during the early months of this year I was questioned about the imminence of the general strike. Everywhere I heard predictions of coming disaster for England.

As regards the mines and the miners the Government was doing little or nothing. The Samuel report was laid aside, and there was no alternative scheme before Parliament and the country. But it could not be said that the national stoppage was not foreseen. Here at any rate the Government was not open to the charge of slackness. In 1925 the cabinet and the great industrial corporations were alike unprepared. This was clearly shown by the panic yielding to the demand for a subsidy. The nine-months relief period, it is true, was not used as it should have been in the interests of a coal settlement. But it certainly was used by the administrative departments for preparation against the peril of industrial warfare. In the autumn a new volunteer body was formed with a cumbersome name—the Organization for Maintaining Supplies—shortened into the convenient initials, O.M.S. It was encouraged by the Home Department, welcomed with rapture by the Peers, cheered on by the Conservative press and enthusiastically recruited from the comfortable classes.

The railroads and the great industrial firms took every possible precaution against a shortage of coal. Production in the mines was speeded up. Enormous stocks were accumulated. Capitalist industry was ready for a state of siege.

IF it be asked what corresponding steps were taken on the side of the labor unions, the answer must be, none, if we expect such preparation as was implied in the resolutions and decisions of the Trade Union Congress at Scarborough in September. These were widely read as a victory for the Left, and were commented upon with no little anxiety in England and America. Politicians and editorial writers took the view that a vast, new labor-union force had been called into existence, and inferred that the danger of a general strike had thereby been greatly augmented. As a matter of fact, the logic of trade-unionism worked more or less straightforwardly after Black Friday in 1921. The completed mechanism controlled by the Trade Union Council was an inevitable development. That mechanism, it is clear, was designed for the purposes of a general strike, notwithstanding the incontrovertible fact that the leaders of the Trade Union Congress do not accept the philosophy of the general strike. Industrial history repeats the history of military nations. Pursue your policy and create your weapon, and in the end the weapon will be put to use—probably in circumstances that make disaster certain for those who have forged the weapon. That is what happened to the Trade Union Congress. The Government took note of what was going forward, and laid its plans. The labor world was moving towards a decision which it could not avoid; and it was moving without preparation. Indeed, a sub-committee of the T.U.C. reported some time before the crisis came that labor organization for a national strike could not be built up: it must be improvised when the occasion arose.

LET us now turn to the events immediately preceding the rupture of May 2.

The first thing to note is that, in the interval following the publication of the Samuel report the Government made no attempt to force the pace of the mine-owners. No one need wish to cast blame upon an overworked prime minister at a peculiarly anxious time; but the fact is that Mr. Baldwin ought to have moved, and to have insisted. His personal authority is so great that then, as at any other time, his word must have carried. He did not speak the word. Hence it happened that it was not until a few hours before the wages agreement was due to end, and the subsidy with it, that the mine-owners produced their revised terms. These were impossible. But in any case, the crisis was already upon us. It was the afternoon of Friday, April 30. The Government was on the point of announcing, by royal proclamation, a state of national emergency. The police reserves and the O.M.S. were being called out. Orders were being sent to the municipalities throughout the country to stand by for a general strike. The ten district commissioners were invested with full military authority. Winston Churchill, turning from his dismal task of piloting an unpopular budget through the Commons, was once again in his element as director-general of operations on the home front.

The lock-out notices were posted on April 30. On the following day the mines were closed down and more than a million miners were out. Labor was making its May Day demonstration in London and elsewhere; the T.U.C. was entering upon its last efforts for peace, and the executive committees were meeting to decide the momentous question of the call to the general strike.

Negotiations with the Government had been suspended. They were not resumed until Sunday night. No one could be in doubt that the prime minister was working wholeheartedly for peace. Few would question the statement that until Sunday the peace party in the cabinet was in command. Mr. Baldwin had the backing of Lord Birkenhead, who, having helped to make the Irish treaty four years ago, may now be counted as a repentant diehard. The minister of labor, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, also was a consistent supporter. But the opposing group was formidable. Led by Winston Churchill and Neville Chamberlain (minister of health), it comprised the most energetic members of the cabinet—men who, with the exception of the two named, may fairly be described as hotheads not overdone with brains and having little knowledge of industrial England. Faced by the threat of resignation from at least half-a-dozen of his colleagues, and weakened by his own failure to exert authority with the mine-owners at an earlier stage, Mr. Baldwin was overborne. He had nothing to bargain with, no resources to call up. It was worse than useless for him to plead the pacific intentions of Ramsay MacDonald and J. H. Thomas, or the extreme reluctance of the General Council of the T.U.C. to send out the strike call. That was precisely the strong card held by the Tory diehards. They knew that the general strike was a horror to the parliamentary leaders of the Labour Party. They knew also that, with the exception of Ernest Bevin, there was not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a man among the two-dozen members of the General Council who had not, at some time or other, gone on record against the general strike. Even the miners' idol, Robert Smillie, could be, and was quoted against the policy. Moreover, the war party in the cabinet had the correct measure of the bourgeois strength of England. They were resolved that the break should come; eager for the strike to be called, being confident that they could smash it, and, in smashing the strike, destroy the power of trade-unionism in England—as they thought, for a lifetime.

Against colleagues of this temper, what was a good and considerate Stanley Baldwin to do? We know now that circumstances on Sunday were altogether against him. For several hours of the day the miners' representatives were not accessible in London. It was 9 p. m. before the parties came together for the eleventh-hour effort; but even then, notwithstanding the pressure of the Diehards, the parleys reopened with a large measure of hope because the General Council had accepted a formula of peace, which seemed to promise a way of getting round the Government's impossible condition as to wages. The formula, drafted by Birkenhead, committed the miners to a reopening of negotiations with the knowledge that it might involve some reduction of wages and to an examination of the Samuel report in its entirety. As to the latter point there was no doubt: the miners were ready. But there was no possibility of getting the miners' consent to the crucial concession about wages, because of the diehard tactics. The door was shut and banged.

THERE is no need to dwell upon the circumstances of the break. The prime minister took his stand upon two points. First, the threat of the general strike. But that had been made in the clearest form the preceding day. If it was to have any validity as a reason for breaking off, the break obviously should have come at the moment of the strike call. The second point was trivial and irrelevant. What had happened in the case of the pressmen at the Daily Mail had nothing to do with the T.U.C. Since the prime minister was willing to continue discussion in the shadows of the general strike, his making an occasion of a trifling mutiny in a single newspaper office gave to the irrevocable act an appearance of levity that did not accord with the Baldwin character. His statement in the House on the following day was his own sufficient condemnation, for he spoke as though peace had been within reach.

The fact that matters, of course, is that the prime minister, being the man he is, could not help himself. A man of harder make, knowing that the mass of the nation was with him, would have stood his ground and have let Winston Churchill go with as many, or as few, of the cabinet rebels as might care to follow him. Mr. Baldwin, notwithstanding his remarkable personal position could not do that. The truth is that, at a crucial moment of this kind, no conservative prime minister could; while, despite their attacks upon the Government, the line taken by the Asquiths and Simons is evidence that a Wing prime minister would probably have been coerced in similar fashion. The point as to whether, considering the attitude of the miners, there was any hope at all in the Sunday formula is one to which I will return toward the end of this article.

I pass rapidly over the strike itself and its immensely interesting incidents. The press of America, so far as I was able to explore it, seemed fair in the main, although there was, even in the most responsible papers, far too much talk of revolutionary aims and temper and (in the headlines particularly) a distressing exaggeration of the trivial and scattered acts of violence. The plain fact is that there was no violence; there was no popular excitement—as those words are understood by Americans in relation to labor trouble. The behavior of the strikers, and of all classes, was miraculous. The Joan of Arc celebration on the Sunday preceding our ordeal turned Paris into a stricken field by comparison. One-tenth of the happenings at Passaic, New Jersey, during two or three days of last March, if they had been spread over the whole country, would have been taken by the English people as terrifying proof that a bloody revolution had come upon them. Remember that our police carry no firearms and therefore are altogether dissociated in the public mind with the thought of provocation. If, at any moment of the Nine Days, the home secretary or Winston Churchill had suggested the arming of the police or special constables, he would have been instantly silenced as an enemy of public order, and by our young Fascists perhaps as vigorously as by anybody else.

Upon only one matter directly connected with the tactics of the strike will I say a word here, namely, the stoppage of the press. Not many hours, I think, had gone by before labor opinion had come around to the view that the calling out of the printers was a great mistake. Opinion among the reasonable papers was extremely critical of the government and strongly sympathetic with the miners. The last issues that were allowed to appear made this sufficiently plain. The T.U.C. should have known that the government would produce an official daily, and they forgot the radio. It was another case of failing to take account of the advance of science.

As the road has beaten the railroad, so the wireless has beaten the printing-press. And the government commands the air-ways as it commands the resources of the earth.

I note one detail that may sound incredible to readers unacquainted with the varieties of simplicity that may lurk in the Englishman's sense of fairplay. We have it from G. D. H. Cole that the T.U.C. did not think it would be quite gentlemanly to allow the printers of the labor papers to remain at work if the capitalist papers were shut down! As it was, when Churchill's British Gazette (a most ill-omened sheet, as nearly everybody seemed to feel) began to appear, the T.U.C. brought out the British Worker and did very well with it against the heaviest odds.

IT is more than likely that before these pages can appear in type the full story of the ending of the strike may have been made known. One may remark at this point that the end came as and when it did because the stoppage was not, strictly speaking, a general strike. It was a wide sympathetic strike. Its plan was opposed to the plan involved in the idea of a general strike, which, manifestly, could not be operated effectually by the calling out of workers in relays. There is reason to believe that on the eighth day the T.U.C. was seriously influenced by the fact that, when the engineers (in America, machinists) were called out, not more than 25 per cent responded. The General Council was unaware of the very simple fact that the notices were imperfectly delivered. True, there were many other indications that the strike had reached its maximum; but no satisfactory explanation is as yet available of the (*Continued on page* 438)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Newsreel

Civil constabulary reserve

Plus-Fours to the Rescue

How Volunteer Service Was Mobilized

By CORNELIA STRATTON PARKER

HAS anyone ever seen a million dollars in pennies? That was the impression London made the first day of the so-called General Strike. Money and population in large sums usually can be no better visualized than light miles to the nearest star. The population of London is 7,800,000. On an ordinary Tuesday the average person may be aware at best of some two thousand. On Tuesday, May 4, suddenly it seemed as if the whole 7,800,000 were coming down the highways into town in their smallest denominations, all before one's very eyes. The strike made one acutely aware how many of London's millions are underground in rush hours: no one lumped in large unseen units under the earth, very few in buses, no one in trams, no one in trains, and two days later no one in taxis. As far as one could see ahead, as far as one could see behind, sidewalks black with marching folk all going in one direction—to work.

By Wednesday sidewalks were less packed, streets more so. The unorganized volunteers began their work in earnest. Everyone who possessed anything on wheels, two, three or four, hauled it out of the basement or garage or junk heap and then, once human will and need and ingenuity got the object to move forward, as many friends, relatives, and strangers were piled into or on the vehicle as it would or wouldn't hold. Surely it was a duke on a rattly rusty bicycle, at any rate his monocle and spats looked the part, and perched quaveringly over the back wheel, holding his shoulders, a faultlessly attired duchess—yes, duchess. Three unshaven men and a dowdy woman, all four looking like the dregs of despair, bounced down the way in an antique draughty taxi body tied with ropes onto four wheels which in no way belonged. Rolls-Royces purred by and stopped to take in one more, squeezed into a place big enough for a pair of gloves. A boy on a baker's bicycle transported two adults humped into the covered box where usually rode cakes. Lest one get too rosy a picture of a nation turned chummy overnight, now and then a limousine passed down the street with its solitary occupant in the rear looking neither right nor left and feeling as sure of heavenly favor as on any spring morning of his fifty self-contained years.

Each day of the strike as it passed left the thoroughfares of London looking more normal, yet the normality was in good part a matter of comparison with the first two days. The number of bicycles was still well above the average; there were still unfamiliar charabancs and trucks fitted up with benches; some machines with large hearted owners still carried rough signs "Signal if you want a lift"; and shy souls were still trudging because their courage never reached the point where they could signal, and buses and trams and tubes still appeared forbiding. And there were still no taxis to be seen.

In a city the size of London the most pressing problem next to food and bound up with food is transport. During the strike transport was practically entirely in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Underwood & Underwood

Hyde Park as a milk depot. Thousands of churns of milk were handled and despatched with methodical precision

hands of volunteers, as was also food. The fact then that on the whole the population of London suffered so very little inconvenience in either of these basic problems of existence was due primarily to two things—the organization of voluntary service during the strike, and English temperament.

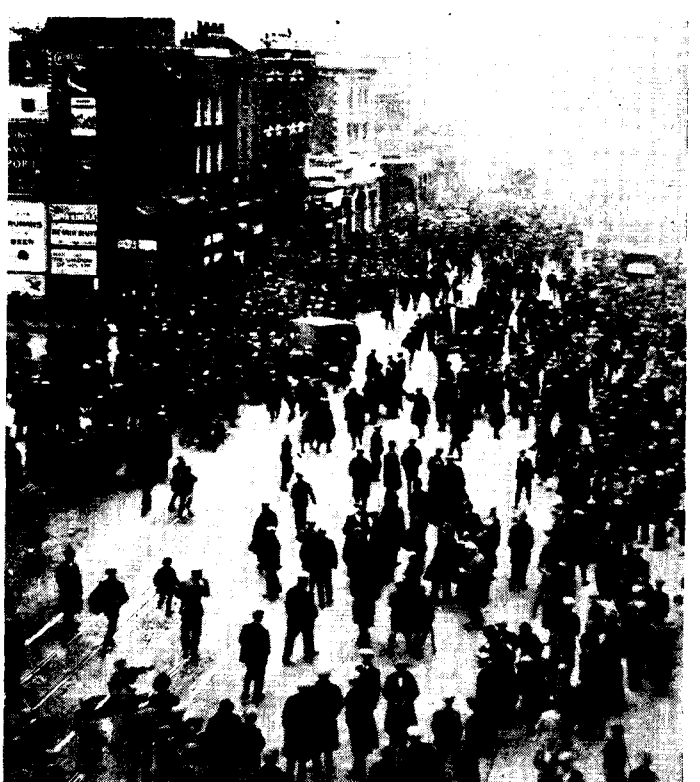
Underwood & Underwood

Plus-fours also served as conductors on over one thousand motor buses

It is very necessary to realize that when compliments are going the rounds as to the unfailing calm and good cheer and good sense of the English public faced with an acute emergency—and I for one shall be so complimenting them till my dying day—the term English public is all-inclusive. The "public" is a strike carried out by millions of workers; besides the narrower meaning of that term, as you and I and our immediate neighbors, it includes the striker and the strike-breaker. In the wholesale complimenting of themselves which the English indulged in with complete justification, they often lost sight of the fact that among those whose calm and good temper were on the whole exemplary a large bouquet must be pinned on that strategic individual, the striker.

Where the circle of trouble begins or ends in an industrial disturbance who can say? Who starts a riot during a strike? striker? strike-breaker? police? constabulary? an impatient abused public? In England for the most part no one molested anybody else. Not a policeman went armed; pickets were given orders to interfere with no one attempting work; strikers only in rare instances annoyed strike-breakers, and the rest of the nation kept their heads and smiled. That small percentage of a country which in everyday life restrains itself with difficulty from breaking windows and slugging somebody in authority over the head, the so-called hoodlums, did of course welcome the strike as an excuse to do damage where they dared. The most conservative of souls explain to you that naturally it was not the regular trade unionists who smashed up buses and hacked automobiles to pieces. Most of what trouble did exist was caused by youths of twenty or under. Saturday afternoon at Plymouth strikers and police played football before an enthused audience; all over the land pickets and police passed the time of day together; not a shot was fired from start to finish—in a strike, mind you, which meant four to five million workers idle. Hats off to the English public, which includes that creature of admirable self restraint, the English striker.

Some one said it was the war plus plus-fours which drew the teeth of the strike. The war had accustomed a nation to organize overnight against emergencies and that ability



International Newsreel

London on foot

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to meet untoward situations on a community scale was still keen. People were able to "fall in" with relief work like a well trained army after a vacation. ("Overnight" is not to be taken too literally. Most of the government's plans had been laid well in advance. A large private organization for the maintenance of supplies had been in existence since last September and handed itself over bodily to the government when the strike was declared.)

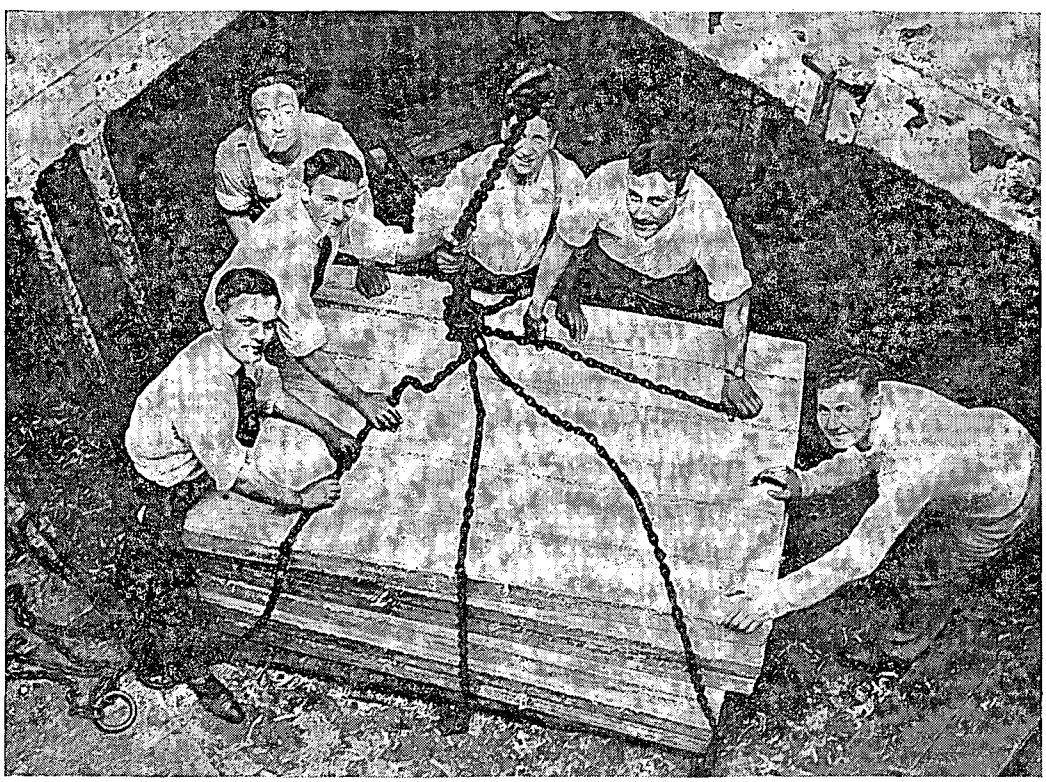
The second aspect of the war influence has also to do with the plus-fours. (Or are they called knickerbockers at home?) Granted we live in a mechanical age and practically every youth can run some kind of a machine with his eyes closed, the war had thrown men of every class into actual manipulation of machines of all types. In one small town near London the strike brought out four hundred trained "gentlemen" lorry drivers. Given the presence of petrol and motor objects on wheels, transport cannot be held up in the twentieth century merely because trains and buses and trams cease moving. There is inconvenience to a great modern community when its normal means of large scale transportation are interfered with; there is a fearful setback to large scale production; there can be little or no real danger.

Because besides the enormous number of motor vehicles of every sort and description there is the enormous number of efficient young men in plus-fours ready and eager to make them move. There is already the story going the rounds of an irate formal parent who demanded of a son appearing hurriedly at supper in plus-fours, "What do you mean by coming to the table dressed like a bus driver?"

Not for one minute that only youth can or does throw itself into the breach where motors are concerned. There were thousands of settled adults about England who fell to and made things move. Women drove lorries, men with grey in their hair drove locomotives. There is no longer mystery to a motor, no longer lengthy apprenticeship necessary to run a machine. They say Swiss children are born with skiis on. It would seem that English and Americans nowadays are born with one foot stepping on the gas.

International Newsreel

Bringing home the bacon on the London docks



International Newsreel

College undergraduates from Oxford replaced the dockers in unloading food supplies from Denmark

LABOR launched the strike in illogical despair and unpreparedness. The government had it down in black and white exactly what steps were to be taken to meet the situation, and took them.

No sooner was the strike declared than England found herself marked off into ten divisions, each ruled by a civil commissioner vested with great authority, respon-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sible to one man, Sir William Mitchell-Thomson, postmaster general and chief civil commissioner, presiding over this emergency government from his London headquarters. Under the civil commissioner for each division were a chief assistant, a deputy chief assistant and eight subdivisions headed by one or more officers—coal, finance, food, military, police, railways, roads. Under the ten road commissioners, for instance, were 150 road officers stationed in various centers, and in each of the various centers was a voluntary haulage committee with a chairman who was a well known haulage contractor. The committees were manned by representatives of all the trades in which haulage was needed. In London the day before the strike was called the haulage committee had 160 motor lorries at their command, and the following day 500 lorries for milk traffic alone.

Let it be stated at the start that the unions promised cooperation with the government to see that food supplies would in no way be interfered with. This offer was ignored. Several local authorities then made arrangements with local strike committees and permits were issued by the latter. The British Worker, official organ of the Trade Union Council during the strike, claimed that in many places the government had ordered such permits to be withdrawn. The T.U.C. "to avoid any conflict between authorities and men on strike felt it necessary to withdraw its permits in these cases."

THE most elaborate activities on the part of the food officer of the London division centered around the supply of milk. The London public began the strike naturally uneasy as to what would happen to a milk supply wholly dependent on transportation. A 2d. per quart raise in price was authorized by the government to cover extra haulage costs. Before the strike was more than a few days along there was so much milk on hand that the British Broadcasting Company was pleading with the public to drink more milk and the price was lowered a penny a quart.

Hyde Part was immediately closed to the public and became the central milk pooling station for the London district. The actual machinery of this organization while set up by the government was in the hands of "the trade," manned and operated by the members of the distributing dairymen. For six weeks previous to the strike a small transport committee called together by the Board of Trade had been deliberating on the situation and a scheme of transport to function within a hundred-mile radius of London was evolved. On the very first day of the strike farmers brought their milk to convenient centers or "dumps" and five hundred lorries were dispatched from Hyde Park to collect. At one time 1,200 lorries were on duty bringing milk from country dumps to the Park at all hours.

Overnight a small town sprouted in Hyde Park. Three thousand men, including certain reserve volunteer groups, and including Sir William Price as controller and his committee, lived on the premises. Mushroom huts and tents rose by the magic of modern organization, gas light and water systems were installed for offices and canteens with a complete telephone exchange of 160 lines in its temporary hut. How Julius Caesar would have loved it!

The Y.M.C.A. stepped in with eight emergency Hyde Park canteens, the first opened on Monday before the strike went into effect. Over 2,500 women volunteered as canteen workers, 826 women and 300 men labored regularly throughout the strike serving—they have it down with Baedekerlike precision—10 cups of tea, 3 buns, 3½ eggs a minute, day and night.

The milk arrived at Hyde Park as the central pool and was from there redistributed by an organization roughly corresponding to the areas served ordinarily by the chief railway systems. As the milk came in it was received by members of the dairy trade, checked and entered. The retail dairymen, some with motor vans, some with horse-drawn vehicles, some with still more modest "prams," after going through the necessary and usual business formalities—including payment—proceeded to their respective dumps and were duly supplied. With the improved railway services the number of Park dumps decreased and more and more the dairymen collected their supplies from the railway terminals, staffed for milk distribution by members of the dairy trade. In all, the pool handled some 5,000,000 gallons of milk during its existence.

LONDON'S solid food supply was a less peaceful nut to crack. Farmers and cows and dairymen do indeed inhabit another world from ships and docks and stevedores and hydraulic cranes. Four days of the strike passed before a dent was made in the huge problem of getting supplies out of ships' holds, onto wharves, into lorries, and down the streets to the London market. Saturday morning saw a train of a hundred lorries loaded with foodstuffs escorted from the docks to the central depot, also in Hyde Park, under a detachment of Grenadier Guards and twenty

Underwood & Underwood

The queue of volunteers at the central recruiting office

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

armored cars. Trade unionists asked "Why the display of force? Who's going to stop your lorries?" ("As if a guard of mounted police wouldn't more than have done the job!") It suited the government to make the grand gesture, and they told themselves they were taking no chances. The 500 workers for the docks had left Hyde Park in the dark of 4 a.m. amid uneasiness and the confusions of torrents of rain.

On Monday, the 500 volunteers, a goodly percentage of them Oxford undergraduates, (they had left Hyde Park unmolested, by daylight) were unloading ships at Hay's Wharf on the Thames in place of the usual 1,500, and report has it with the same results. But it is one thing to do three times the normal rate of work in an emergency and somewhat in the crusading spirit, and another to hold to such effort as a steady wearing lifetime job. Young men who had never thought of a ship as anything but a means of getting to some place in comfort swarmed like ants in and out of holds. Great hydraulic cranes operated from their tiny cabins by amateurs with an hour or so of previous practice swung above the din and confusion clutching their giant's load of eggs, butter, bacon, meat. Ships unloaded and off, ships unloading, ships arriving, shouts, orders, the crane swinging back and forth. "Can send 140 more men at once," read a message from Oxford, "or 200 by evening." (Handkerchiefs to wipe the tears of students freed from college to load bacon on a dock, union pay and bed and board thrown in.)

Here is a side issue to the story of getting food to London: Electricity is badly needed for the docks, for lighting dark corners, for maintaining refrigerating plants, for cranes. Time came when the West Ham power station refused to give the necessary electricity. Without electricity the hands of the most stalwart of volunteers were all but helpless. Five submarines and their parent ship, the H. M. S. Cyclops, steamed up the Thames. Five submarines moored alongside the quay where the dock power house stands, threw out cables, connected up, and once again "juice" was turned on. None too much, but enough to produce results.

For eleven days 7,800,000 people dependent on the outside world for every mouthful of food, every drop of milk, lived under a state of emergency which shut off all ordinary avenues of food supply. It is safe to state that during those eleven days few lacked for any item on their day's menu to which they were normally accustomed, nor except in rare instances did they pay more for what was consumed than the normal price.

THE omnibus occupies a unique position in London, carrying its thousands upon thousands of passengers daily. No tram lines run into the London business districts, many areas are distant from any tube connection, and shoppers, workers, sightseeers, depend on the bus in London as in no other big city. There are over eighty different names of unorganized "pirate" buses numbering in all 500 on the London streets. There are two "regular" buses in the combine, the General and Tilling's, which are under the same central management as the London underground railways. The General buses alone number 3,350. Only the General and Tillings were affected by the strike, but that meant more of an upset to London transport than all other buses combined. What is a Londoner ten miles away from his or her job to do without his or her bus? Much

Underwood & Underwood

The food supply "in person" marches through a central London street

of the dramatic savor of the strike centered around the red General buses. Would they come out? Would they be allowed to run? Would anyone dare ride on them?

On the first day of the strike 151 volunteers were enrolled to work buses but no buses left the sheds. On the second day 140 buses ventured forth with 615 men enrolled as volunteers. By the last day of the strike 623 buses out of 3,350 were operating, all on short routes; 2,959 volunteers managed them instead of a normal labor force of 27,300. It took nerve to drive a bus through certain uneasy districts. Before long many a bus had one or all windows broken. Most of the amateur plus-foured drivers sat behind wire netting, always a policeman or special constable alongside. One wire netting had a hole to the right of the driver's head and a sign over it "Here's where you throw the bricks."

Of the underground trains run entirely by voluntary labor the company reckons that by the end of the strike service was practically normal for the limited sections opened. Actual figures were 88 trains out of a normal 240; 5,000 workers where the normal is 9,500. No trams appeared in the open until four strike days had passed and then it soon was concluded that discretion was the better part of valor. There were strategic withdrawals after a short and eventful public career. The company figures that after eleven days tram service functioned "about 50 per cent."

The voluntary labor necessary for running buses, tube and trams signed up for the most part either directly at bus, tube and tram headquarters or through the London Haulage Committee. Most of the 2,959 bus volunteers were bedded and boarded within the Chiswick depot, police guarding the gate; inside, a grenadier with fixed bayonet; near by, four armored cars. (*Continued on page* 443)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The British General Strike: What It Was and Was Not

By HAROLD J. LASKI

THE time has not yet come for any verdict upon the great struggle to be made. Whatever conclusions are drawn must, at the best, be hesitating and tentative. Even to those of us who worked day by day with the Trade Union Council at Eccleston Square, there are obscurities and to spare. We do not know what transformed Mr. Baldwin, as by a flash, from a negotiator genuinely desirous of peace, to a man of war lamely trying to imitate the belligerent vociferousness of Winston Churchill. We cannot explain what passed between Sir Herbert Samuel and Sir Arthur Steel Maitland in those delicate conversations from which, for purposes into which one cannot yet enquire, the prime minister was excluded. We do not know why Sir John Simon was suddenly driven to make a now notorious legal pronunciamento of which, at best, the substance was dubious at its crucial point, and the etiquette, one hopes, contrary to all the best traditions of the English bar. The tale is not yet a straightforward one. Such of it as can be pieced together, my friend S. K. Ratcliffe tells elsewhere in this number. My task is the different one of analyzing the struggle (I) as a problem in legal and constitutional theory, (II) as an illustration of political philosophy, and (III) as an event which throws a tentative gleam of light upon political method.

I

THE Government took up a definite attitude from the moment that the call of the General Council to the unions was issued. This, it said, was a threat to the Constitution. It was an attempt to coerce Parliament without the intervention of the electorate. It was not an industrial issue at all, but a challenge to the community of which the Government was the legally appointed guardian. As such it was illegal, and until the Trade Union Council called off the strike there could be no resumption of negotiations.

It is very difficult to see what ground there is for this view. The Trade Union Congress made its position clear from the very outset. It called upon its members to withdraw their labor for two reasons:

(1) In its view, an indefensible attack was being made on the miners' standard of life. It was essential to show public opinion how thoroughgoing was the support of the trade union movement for the miners.

(2) The miners were locked out by the owners. No negotiations can be properly conducted under such conditions. It was equally essential to secure a withdrawal of the lockout notices.

No amount of ingenuity can extract from the declarations of the Trade Union Council any other purpose than these. They did not aim at securing any political or constitutional change. They asked only, as J. H. Thomas pointed out, for the continuance of the negotiations on the reasonable basis that the miners should not suffer reductions of wages while they went on. The Government could have secured this at any time either by a continuation of the subsidy for a short period or by insisting that the sacrifice to be borne while a settlement was being hammered out should fall on the owners rather than on the men. And it is here important to remember that the owners had made no wage offer until the day before the expiration of the subsidy and that the Government made no suggestions of its own until May 13, after the general strike was over. The breakdown that occurred, in short, was the outcome of the relentless obstinacy of the owners (whose offer was on all sides admittedly insulting) and the sheer incompetence of the government.

The Trade Union Council was, this is to say, engaged in a sympathetic strike on a peculiarly massive scale. Technically it was not a general strike since all the unions were not called out; it was not called by, but called *for* by, the Trade Union Council, since the actual strike orders were in each case issued by the executives of the respective national unions. That it was not a threat to the community is shown by the offer of the unions, never withdrawn, if never responded to by the Government, to maintain all food and hospital services. Nor did they at any time, as they could have done, withdraw telephone and telegraph workers, or those engaged in sanitary services or services connected with light and gas plant.

There is no law on the English statute book which forbids a union, or a collection of unions, to strike. A trade dispute, in the words of section 5 of the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 is "any dispute . . . which is connected with the employment or non-employment . . . or with the conditions of labor of any person," and "workmen" are "all persons employed in any trade or industry whether or not in the employment of the employer with whom a trade dispute arises." It is not anywhere denied that the mining dispute was an ordinary, if gigantic trade dispute; it is not denied that a sympathetic strike is legal. Where, then, is the authority for the argument that the strike demanded by the Trade Union Council was illegal: and what does the word "unconstitutional" mean in this context except "inconvenient for the government of the day?" If this general stoppage is illegal *now*, why is it announced by the home secretary that legislation is in contemplation to make a general stoppage illegal in the future? And is it argued that when the government takes sides in an industrial dispute, an attempt by the lawful weapon of the strike to force a settlement different from what is proposed, then becomes *a priori* unconstitutional?

It is said that the Trade Union Council was bringing pressure to bear by the strike-weapon to force the Govern-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment to continue the subsidy. But the Government had offered during the negotiations to continue the subsidy and subsequently to the strike they offered to continue the subsidy. That view is, therefore, without substance. And it was surely a purely industrial purpose for the Council to say that it would stand by the miners until reasonable conditions of work were offered. I cannot see, and no one on the labor side can see, a political purpose in that attitude. Its industrial character is shown by the further fact that the general stoppage was ended immediately the General Council was convinced that the Samuel memorandum offered a reasonable basis upon which the miners could resume negotiations. That does not look to any impartial observer like the act of men with an unconstitutional purpose in view.

The truth, I think, is that on this head Mr. Baldwin (very surprisingly) lent himself to the purposes of men who had persuaded themselves that the trade unions must be taught a lesson and that a refusal to negotiate on the ground of the constitution would raise again all the genial bogies of revolution which were so successful at the time of the Zinoviev letter. The voice was the voice of Mr. Baldwin; but the hand was the hand of those pinchbeck Mussolinis, Winston Churchill and Sir William Joynson-Hicks.

II

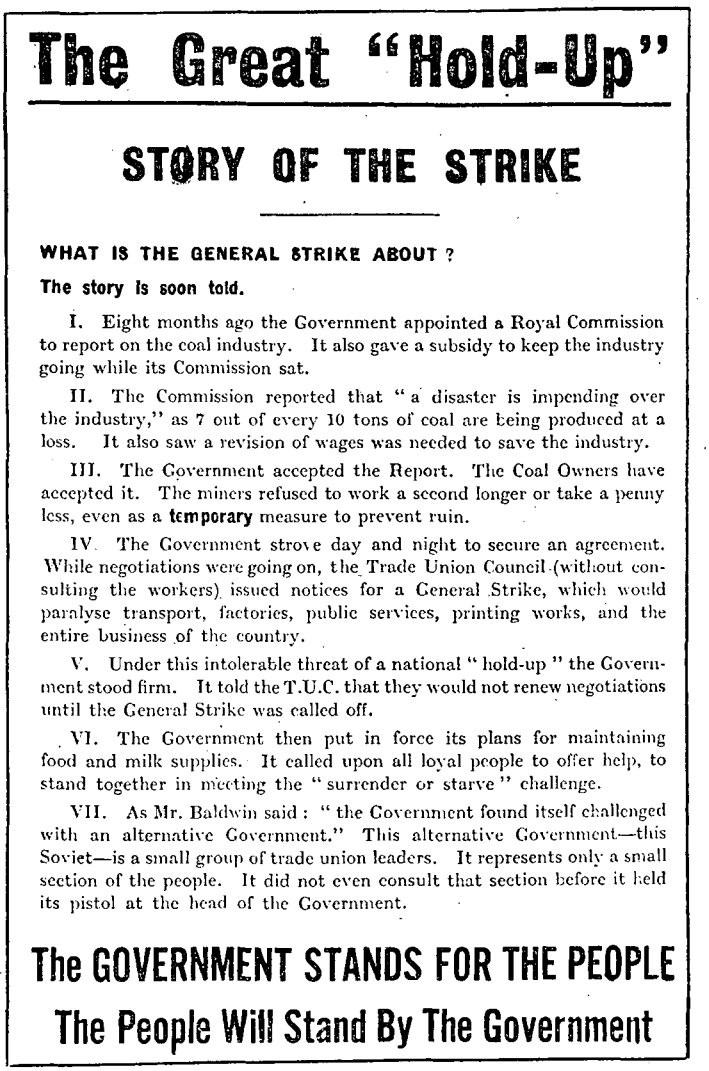
THE problem in political philosophy illustrated by the general stoppage is of central importance. The Government took the simple view that its disagreement with the Trade Union Council made all the actions of the latter body illegal and wrong. It assumed that it was a moral obligation on the part of all citizens to come to its support. It insisted that no man could rightly have allegiance elsewhere than to itself. It identified, in other words, its own will with the will of the whole community, its sense of right and justice with right and justice as objective facts.

I have argued on many occasions that this view cannot possibly be held to represent the facts of social life. Men's allegiance is not the simple reflex action this view assumes. When the Government speaks, I do not automatically feel that truth and justice have spoken. This, surely, is proven by the fact that some millions of men felt and thought that the Trade Union Council was right. Government, in fact, will not in the modern community command allegiance by the mere fact of being a government; it is what it does as a government which determines the allegiance it will receive. That, in formal law, it can make itself supreme does not imply that it can make itself morally supreme unless it can satisfy the consciences of its citizens. There is not, in fact, any unity in the state save that which is put there by the cooperative effort of men; and they will not cooperate unless the purpose for which their aid is invoked is one that wins their spiritual allegiance.

Here, as I think, is the root of the Government's error. It assumed that the trade unionist would not stand by the miners when it declared the appeal of the Trade Union Council unconstitutional. It insisted, that is, that allegiance is monistic. In fact, the trade unionist felt that in the given case his allegiance was more rightly due to the trade union than to the government. The Council, as I have explained, was engaged here in a purely industrial problem and the issue was not driven (through the wisdom of the trade unions) to an extreme. But the mistake made by Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues was the mistake made by George III in 1776; it is the fatal assumption that the power which makes the law, can make law morally binding because it makes law. The truth is the very different fact that the binding force of law depends not upon its origin but upon its substance. The British government decided, in the last analysis, to act as the agent of the coal owners. It ought not to be surprised that the trade-union movement doubted whether that agency entitled it to identify itself with the community. It should rather be surprised at the amazing self-restraint and moderation of those who could not accept its view.

III

THE problem in political method is far more complex. Whether the Council was wise in calling a general strike with unlimited liability in time is a question upon which opinions may well differ. For the resources of government were inevitably greater over a period than those of the unions. The former could afford to wait; the latter, after a very few days, would pass the apogee of its powers. Government had at its call the resources of the law. It could threaten, overawe, imprison. It could insist on the maintenance of essential services like the food-supply, and while those were maintained it could afford to wait for the surrender of the men. The trade unions could call their



The Great "Hold-Up"

STORY OF THE STRIKE

WHAT IS THE GENERAL STRIKE ABOUT?

The story is soon told.

I. Eight months ago the Government appointed a Royal Commission to report on the coal industry. It also gave a subsidy to keep the industry going while its Commission sat.

II. The Commission reported that "a disaster is impending over the industry," as 7 out of every 10 tons of coal are being produced at a loss. It also saw a revision of wages was needed to save the industry.

III. The Government accepted the Report. The Coal Owners have accepted it. The miners refused to work a second longer or take a penny less, even as a **temporary** measure to prevent ruin.

IV. The Government strove day and night to secure an agreement. While negotiations were going on, the Trade Union Council (without consulting the workers) issued notices for a General Strike, which would paralyse transport, factories, public services, printing works, and the entire business of the country.

V. Under this intolerable threat of a national "hold-up" the Government stood firm. It told the T.U.C. that they would not renew negotiations until the General Strike was called off.

VI. The Government then put in force its plans for maintaining food and milk supplies. It called upon all loyal people to offer help, to stand together in meeting the "surrender or starve" challenge.

VII. As Mr. Baldwin said: "the Government found itself challenged with an alternative Government." This alternative Government—this Soviet—is a small group of trade union leaders. It represents only a small section of the people. It did not even consult that section before it held its pistol at the head of the Government.

The GOVERNMENT STANDS FOR THE PEOPLE

The People Will Stand By The Government

Handbill distributed by the Government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Other Side

In the rump edition of The Observer (London) which was published May 16, just after the termination of the strike, J. L. Garvin summed up the major issue as he saw it in a slashing leader headed Out—and Speaking Out. We quote from the closing paragraphs:

THE national mind is clear and determined about two things. It desires in industry as in international affairs a genuine and lasting peace; and it will sternly discountenance any attempt of employers to abuse the advantage which the unredeemed stupidity of this strike has given them. . . .

But in case of any second attempt of this kind to hold up the country either to ransom in cash, or for any purpose, trades unionism would have to be disarmed and made as throughly subject to law as is every other aspect of our society. For even trade unionism cannot have life both ways. It has broken the law on an unexampled scale by a wholesale repudiation of contracts, and yet demands the unique privilege of failure with impunity. It has tried to gag and stifle free journalism and yet claims to be a democratic advance on liberalism. It has refused its services to the community and has yet expected to be fed as usual by the exertions of others. It has inflicted mad injury on its own means of livelihood, depressed enough before, and yet expects somehow to return to the same earnings and conditions. This journal is for a further and utmost trial of faith, hope and charity in all these respects. But if trades unionism shows any signs of renewing the recent menace, and if it refuses to give the nation a reasonable presumption of future security, we shall be no longer for mere measures of defense in view of another crisis. We shall stand for prevention by every means that the laws can devise and national organization enforce.

men out. It was another, and, as events have shown, a much more difficult problem, to get them reinstated. An industrial general strike is a weapon of such magnitude that it exhausts the financial power of the unions over a long period; the National Union of Railwaymen alone paid out over a million pounds in strike benefit. It is, that is to say, a weapon the use of which cripples the union over a long period; and that, in its turn, places the employer in a position to make demands upon the unions which they are not in a position then to resist. As a result of all these factors, a general strike which remains purely industrial is unlikely to be successful, unless the goodwill of the government is actively exerted on its side.. Therefore a general strike for industrial ends which seeks success in a sense other than impressive and temporary demonstration of unity among the workers, must become more than industrial in its purposes. It will then become definitely unconstitutional; it will be attacked at its source by the government. That will, I think, involve wholesale arrests of leaders and outbreaks of violence. This will lead to the use of troops, and what began as a strike will, unless the military and naval forces prove disloyal, end as an abortive revolution. This will almost certainly result in a blow to the foundations of trade-unionism from which it will take a generation to recover. It is a subsidiary, but important, point that, almost inevitably, a general strike will result in trade dislocation and, consequently, trade depression. This, in its turn, will result in widespread unemployment. Trade unionism is always weak when unemployment is higher; the weaker brethren and the unskilled fall away. Exactly, then, at the point when the power of the unions is most needed to defend the workers' standard of life, that power will prove inadequate to the end in view.

I conclude therefore, that at best a general industrial stoppage in a capitalist country is a very dubious tactic unless a Labor government with a majority is in power; and, in that event, I do not think a stoppage would be necessary. I am inclined, accordingly, to argue that the wisest course for the trade-union movement in such a circumstance as that confronted by the General Council is to call a strike in which all the unions without exception are involved for some such period as two or three days, and, subsequently, to render generous financial assistance to the men in the industry primarily involved. The demonstration of solidarity (the main thing capable of achievement) will not be less impressive; and the response made to the Trade Union Council by the unions shows that on an issue so clear as that in the recent fight, there is little or no likelihood of failure.

A further question in method remains. What is likely to be the policy of the government? Rumor of an authoritative kind predicts legislation with the purpose (1) of preventing a general strike by declaring it illegal; (2) of forcing the unions to call a ballot of their members before they can call a strike (3) of so amending the law in relation to peaceful picketing that, in practice, this powerful weapon will be struck from the hand of the worker. I venture to predict two things about these proposals. If they are passed into law, they will not prevent a general strike. If an issue arises upon which a general strike occurs, they will merely force it into definitely revolutionary channels. And, secondly, if they are passed, the whole structure of goodwill Mr. Baldwin is seeking to build up for his party will be destroyed. His colleagues will have challenged the foundations of trade-unionism, and the political labor movement will receive so immense an impetus that it may conceivably win a majority at the next election. In that event, it would, of course, repeal the legislation. It must not be forgotten that the Taft-Vale decision was the foundation of the Labour Party's success, and it could not ask for a better issue than legislation intended to circumscribe the authority of trade-unions.

ONE last word remains to be said. No one can have lived through these days without a sense of the magnificent spirit of comradeship in the trade-union movement. That fellowship existed we all knew; that it existed so intensely no one could have dared to hope. A tribute is due, also, to the General Council, and especially to its chairman, Arthur Pugh. Doubtless, it made mistakes. But it was using untried weapons. It was exploring an uncharted desert. It assumed immense responsibilities which required immense courage at every stage of the effort. My own feeling is not one of disappointment at a partial failure but of hope because of the difficulties that have been surmounted. British labor has learned the strength it possesses. It will not suffer that strength to be challenged again at its source.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain's Morning After

By WILFRID H. CROOK

BRITAIN, after the so-called "General" Strike, is a nation of conflicting emotions, assertions and ideas. A very visible rift in the remnants of the Liberal party is not without parallels in Conservative and Labour circles. The term "traitor" can be heard in labor gatherings, whether they be small groups of ardent debaters in Hyde Park, or mass meetings such as that held at the end of May in the Royal Albert Hall to raise funds for the miners. Behind the scenes a conservative editor declares in a personal interview that the mine owners are "old fashioned idiots," as set in their ways as the miners' leaders, and a "noble lord" expresses his personal opinion of the Welsh mine owners as "stingy brutes who won't spend a penny they can help."

Landing in historic Plymouth on Whit Sunday, the national spring holiday of the British, one found every evidence of the vacation spirit in spite of the recent strike. Hyde Park on Whit Monday was back to normal. Food vans and armored cars, "specials" and volunteers were gone, and in their place a vast concourse of the British public, lay, sat or strolled on the greensward, with litter of lunches and newspapers as at Wembly two years ago. Religious meetings of all shades of doctrine, "bookies" selling their "sure-fire" systems of betting in preparation for the Derby Races, and socialist orators, vied with each other for the ready crowd. One of the last named, subtly avoiding too much direct statement, brought frequent laughter by his sallies at the expense of the ruling classes. According to him they were rapidly degenerating, as witness their (very) recent pride in manual labor—as volunteers. "'Disgustin' he called it. Why a gent took three generations to produce, three generations without labor. Why throw it away in a single week?"

From Hyde Park to Oxford, a contrast indeed. Six young student volunteers told of their personal experiences as trolley drivers, dock workers and special police at Hull, Southampton and London. In some sense a "lark" for all; to the "specials" a financial loss for they were unpaid, to the others a gain, inasmuch as dockers and trolley drivers received the same rate of pay as the strikers whose positions they took, this held true even to the *deduction for unemployment insurance*—a comic aspect of the situation. These young volunteers, "blacklegs" they jocularly called themselves, on the whole reported exceedingly little violence as far as their own experience went. Bad language in plenty, but little if anything worse, although the trolleys which they drove had already received much ventilation by broken windows before they arrived. Prompt and severe jail sentences at the very start seem to have discouraged that kind of picketing, so the young men asserted. Stories were told of games played between student volunteers in Hull and the strikers, and of rivalry in the absorption of liquor in which competition the college volunteers were declared to be the victors!

From Oxford to Fleet Street and the editor of one of Britain's conservative dailies. English people, said he, were "stupid and stubborn—that was why they so often won—they were too stupid to know when they were beaten"!

So it might seem, judging by the Albert Hall mass meeting held the day after the Hammersmith election, (where a Labour candidate overwhelmed the Tory and Liberal) to raise funds for the miners. A crowded house, a South Wales miners' choir with glorious voices, a woman member of Parliament, Ellen Wilkinson, just back from a mine district with sufficiently harrowing tales of distress and of incredibly low wages earned by heads of families she had visited. Last and most inflammatory, "A. J." himself—A. J. Cook, the siamese-twin leader of the miners, vitriolic, impassioned, calling for the ending of a system and a constitution that would not give the miners a living wage.

Three striking samples of this cross section of life stand out in one's memory. On Plymouth station soon after landing the eye caught a glimpse of a large railroad poster in heavy type, published by the Great Western Railway. Under the startling headline *Whom do you serve?* it placed in parallel columns an appeal by the general manager of the line, couched in restrained language, to the loyalty of the G. W. Railway men, and in the second column the announcement of the strike order by C. T. Cramp, leader of the men, forbidding the men to touch any kind of traffic, food or otherwise! What American railroad company would have dared to take so bold a step as to place both sides without comment before all their staff in every station of their system?

The second instance was at Carlisle, during the strike. The London, Midland and Scottish and the London and North Eastern roads compete for traffic to the north of England, though in many places using the same station. In normal times much company feeling exists among the respective staffs, each trying to get for its own system the traffic in question—an important secondary loyalty, as one general manager declared, where the primary one is to class or trade union. A certain L. and N. E. locomotive driver, who did not go on strike, was held up in Carlisle station by London, Midland and Scottish pickets. His own company's strikers saw the situation, drove off the pickets of the rival company and let their driver through, blackleg as he was!

The last sample was in Oxford, the "home of lost causes," always some century behind the times in its gloriously leisured outlook of life. As one hurried for one of the few fast trains to London that still remained on the reduced schedule a whistled tune from the lips of some half dozen railway men was heard, apparently rendering Maryland. But it was *not* Maryland, nor was it a subtle compliment to citizens of the States—the Oxford porters were whistling the Red Flag. The Red Flag, *in Oxford!*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thinning seams of coal lie beneath the pounding surf of the Welsh coast—and the waning British trade in coal underlies the industrial unrest out of which the general strike took its rise. Coal is the world's affair, and no distillation of the record of the British strike can stop short of an attempt to understand the black background of the nine days' drama. Three articles here give Arthur Greenwood, M. P., an opportunity to recapitulate the coal controversy in England; S. Adele Shaw to suggest how the world's coal-bins, oil-tanks and water-powers are related to each other; and Robert W. Bruère to point the moral for our own American bituminous industry.

Coal: the Roots of the Problem

By ARTHUR GREENWOOD

THE situation in the British mining industry calls for explanation. Even the mine owners have been impelled to offer some explanation. Their theory, which was elaborately expounded in their evidence before the Coal Commission of 1925-26 by the aid of copious illustrations drawn from speeches and writings of a few years ago, has the merit of simplicity. It is that all was well with the industry and with the temper and outlook of the miners until about the year 1913 when they were smitten with the hydrophobia of "Socialism." The Mining Association, representing the mine owners, contended that "it is the deliberate object of the Miners' Federation to try to create suspicion and unrest among the workmen, as dissatisfaction with the operation of the industry under private enterprise, however groundless it may be, must be engendered if the ideal of 'the mines for the miners' is to be achieved." It is, of course, perfectly well known that the Miners' Federation has never subscribed to the Syndicalist policy of "the mines for the miners." The plain meaning of the owners' statement is that the men who work in the industry have been misled by their leaders into believing that all is not well with the mining industry when as a matter of fact everything is as it should be.

A secondary cause of the present plight of the industry, as seen through the spectacles of the mine owners, was the period of war control and subsequent intervention by the state. In one of their latest utterances (May 21) the mine-owners declare "emphatically that it will be impossible to continue the conduct of the industry under private enterprise unless it is accorded the same freedom from political interference as is enjoyed by other industries." It will be seen, however, that in so far as the second line of defence of the mine owners is justifiable, it destroys the theory that the defects of the industry were the inventions of the fevered imaginations of miners' leaders bent upon revolution.

It is undoubtedly true that political education among the miners had even before the war led large numbers to see an escape from the prevailing conditions and status of the workers in far-reaching changes in the ownership of minerals and mines. So long ago as 1888 the Trades Union Congress had adopted a resolution in favor of the nationalization of coal royalties, and in 1892 a resolution dealing with the nationalization of mines. In those days there was no political labor movement. The policy of nationalization originated in the industrial labor movement.

The fundamental cause of the mines stoppage and the general strike of 1926 was the fact that, notwithstanding official investigations and their serious disclosures regarding the disorganization of the industry, no serious steps had been taken to deal with the situation. When therefore the coal industry had arrived, speaking generally, at the portals of the bankruptcy court, the only easy way of escape was thought to be a further degradation of the miners' working conditions and standard of life. To the theory that the miners must pay for the indifference of successive governments and the unwillingness of the mine-owners to mend their ways, the whole labor movement offered its most emphatic repudiation, through the general strike.

DURING the Great War the coal industry had come under government control. The miners, who had proved their patriotism both by the numbers who enlisted and by their forbearance when they might have wrung high wages from the industry, took action when the war was over with a view to securing an immediate improvement in wages and conditions and the ultimate solution of nationalization. The chief demands were for a wage advance of 30 per cent and for the reduction of hours from eight to six per day.

After long discussions, the miners agreed to the appointment of a Royal Commission. Mr. Justice Sankey was the chairman, with six members representing the labor point of view (including three miners' officials) and six employers (including three coal owners' representatives). The evidence which was submitted led the chairman and the three employers who were not associated with the coal industry to recommend in an interim report that hours be reduced from eight to seven as from July 16, 1919, and to six at the end of 1920 "subject to the economic position of the industry," that wages should be increased by 2/ per shift, and that the wartime control of the industry should be continued. The three coal-owners agreed to an advance of 1/6d per shift and to the reduction of hours to seven per day. It will be seen that the miners' claims as regards wages and hours were reasonable enough to be largely met by Mr. Justice Sankey and the independent employers and even by the coal owners.

But more important were the later reports. Mr. Justice Sankey reported strongly in favor of the state acquisition of both the coal royalties and the coal mines. It is useless to pretend that these recommendations were the idle *obiter*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dicta of an irresponsible man. They were the considered views of an eminent lawyer based upon an inquisition such as had never before been held into any industry. The main reasons adduced by Justice Sankey for the State ownership of coal royalties were as follows:

1. Seams of coal are now vested in the hands of nearly 4,000 owners . . . some of whom are a real hindrance to the development of the national asset.
2. In certain areas the ownership of the seams of coal is in the hands of many small owners, some of whom cannot be found, and this causes great delay and expense in acquiring the right to work the mineral.
3. Barriers of coal are left unworked between the properties of various owners . . . and millions of tons of the national asset are thereby wasted.
4. Drainage and pumping are carried on in individual pits at heavy, unnecessary expense instead of under a centralized plan covering a whole area.
5. Boundaries of undertakings are arbitrary and irregular and make coal in certain places difficult to work or not worth working.
6. Plots of land are let for building . . . without the right of underground support, so that the coal is worked from underneath, houses are damaged, and no compensation is payable; this is not consistent with public wellbeing.

"Under State ownership," reported Justice Sankey, "there will be one owner instead of nearly 4,000 owners of the national asset, and the difficulties caused under the present system in regard to barriers, drainage, pumping, boundaries and support will largely decrease." His reasons for proposing state ownership were stated as follows:

1. There is underselling in the export trade and overlapping in the inland trade.
2. The lack of capital in some mines and the lack of proper management in others prevent the development of coalfields and the extraction of coal to the best advantage.
3. There are in the United Kingdom about 3,000 pits owned by about 1,500 companies or individuals. Unification under state ownership makes it possible to apply the principles of standardization of materials and appliances, and thereby to effect economies to an extent which is impossible under a system where there are so many individual owners.
4. Mere unification short of state ownership is not enough as it would not secure the active cooperation of labor.

Five of the employers on the Commission including the mine owners suggested the establishment of joint pit committees, district councils and a national council. They also recommended that "local authorities should be given statutory powers to deal in household coal," and that "wherever consolidation of the present distributing agencies is possible, it should be effected, but not so as to result in combinations or trusts to the detriment of the consumer." Lastly, they said, they "carefully considered the evidence submitted" and came to the conclusion "that the most effective method of dealing with the problem in the national interest would be for the state to acquire the ownership of the coal." The remaining business man on the Commission, Sir Arthur Duckham, in a separate report, pressed for the acquisition of mineral rights by the state and a complete unification of the coal industry.

WHAT has been done? A Ministry of Mines was established in 1920 in the Board of Trade. The secretary of this department was empowered to make drainage schemes with respect to any group of mines. Only one such drainage scheme has been set up under the Mining Industry Act of 1920, and another is now under consideration. Some schemes have, however, been arranged on a voluntary basis. The Act of 1920 created the Miners' Welfare Fund which derives its income from a levy of a 1d. a ton on output, yielding about £1,000,000, a year. The Fund has been primarily used for the provision of institutes and sports grounds and the establishment of pit head baths. The Mining Industry Act of 1920 also established an advisory committee for coal and the coal industry to cooperate with the Mines Department. Part II of the Act which provided for the establishment of pit committees, district councils and a national board was never put into operation. The Mines (Working Facilities and Support) Act, 1923, which was designed to deal with some of the defects and difficulties existing with regard to coal royalties did not, as the Royal Commission of 1925 pointed out, deal with more than "minor aspects" of the question.

It is clear that serious defects have continued in existence long after they were exposed, and provide a sufficient justification for the discontent of the miners.

Unable to secure the drastic reorganization which economic facts rendered imperative the miners had no other alternative than to press for improved wages. In 1920, their demands were refused and a strike followed. In the end an immediate advance of 2/ was granted unconditionally and it was understood that miners and owners were to prepare a scheme of wages regulation on a national basis for presentation to the Government by March 31, 1921.

In the meantime, the Government was seized with a fit of "economy" and one of the results was the passage of the Coal Mines (Decontrol) Act, which ended the control of the mines on March 31, instead of on August 31 as originally intended. The regulation of pit-head prices and of the internal distribution of coal ceased on March 1. This sudden decision to decontrol the mines threw the industry into a state of chaos, and the temporary agreement of the previous year ended in a deadlock. Almost two years had elapsed since the Sankey Commission had pointed the way to peace through reorganization. Nothing had been done in this direction. The miners were now threatened with heavy wages reductions. Reasonable wages in the coalfields as a whole depended upon the financial unification of the industry. But the mine owners were implacably opposed to this, and the pits were closed from April 1 until July 4.

The Triple Alliance (including the National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Workers as well as the Miners' Federation) watched closely the strike of 1920 and the National Union of Railwaymen had actually issued provisional notices for a strike of their members, but at the request of the miners the threat was not carried out. During the stoppage of the following year, a Triple Alliance strike was arranged, but then postponed and finally called off. This was the episode of "Black Friday." The failure to carry out the strike was less significant than the intense disappointment and even indignation which was felt throughout the trade union movement when the stoppage was cancelled. Though unemployment in the country was rapidly rising there was a strong desire on the part of organized labor to come to the aid of the miners, because of the conviction that the miners were being sacrificed on the altar of government inactivity and industrial inefficiency.

Into the tangled and complicated negotiations which eventually ended the strike of 1921 it is not necessary to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enter. Finally, however, the Government provided a subsidy of £10,000,000 in order to prevent immediate wages reductions, in any district exceeding a certain maximum.

Under this agreement of 1921, however, wages sank so that numbers of miners were paid at a rate which represented less than their pre-war standard. Consequently, the Miners' Federation in January, 1924, gave three months' notice to the Mining Association to terminate the agreement. A Court of Inquiry reported that practically every class of day wage workers was worse off in 1924 than before the war, and paved the way to a new agreement.

IN the events of 1921 is seen the first indication of the situation which arose five years later. In the events of 1925, the stage was actually set for the conflict of the present year. To the inherent defects of the industry had been added the serious effects of the prolonged trade depression at home and the restriction of markets abroad. Matters had gone from bad to worse as may be seen from the growing percentage of unemployment in the coal mining industry—7.9 in January, 1925, 25.0 in June, 1925. Many mines were losing heavily. Some had closed. The mine owners, whose whole economic organization was much what it was when condemned by Mr. Justic Sankey in 1919, saw no way out of the impasse but to place the burden upon the miners. At the end of June (1925), therefore, the Mining Association gave notice to the Miners' Federation of the termination of the National Agreement of 1924 one month later. New proposals for drastic cuts in wages were made by the miners, and immediately rejected by the men. A further Court of Inquiry expressed the view that "there is considerable room for improving the efficiency of the industry as a whole, and in this way affording some aid to its economic position."

Subsequently, the Government brought together the miners and mine owners, but with no success. The Miners' Federation explained their position to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress which after full consideration decided to support the miners in their opposition to the mine-owners' proposals. A special Industrial Committee of the General Council was appointed, and the services of the Joint Research and Publicity Departments were, with the cordial approval of the Labour Party, placed at the disposal of the Miners' Federation. Instructions were actually issued on behalf of the Railway and Transport Unions in July 30 to prevent the handling of coal, as negotiations had reached a deadlock. Though the stoppage would, in the first instance, have affected only the miners and a portion of the railway and transport workers, it would inevitably have extended and become the largest strike ever witnessed in Britain. At the last moment an agreement was reached under which the Government was to give financial assistance to the industry to enable the agreement of 1924 to operate for a further nine months, and in September, 1925, a Royal Commission was established with Sir Herbert Samuel as chairman "to enquire into and report upon the economic position of the coal industry and the conditions affecting it, and to make any recommendations for the improvement thereof." So far from appearing before the Commission in sackcloth and ashes, the mine owners showed that they had learnt nothing. The Commission itself, however, reported that:

> We cannot agree with the view presented to us by the mine owners that little can be done to improve the organization of the industry, and that the only practicable course is to lengthen hours and to lower wages. In our view large changes are necessary in other directions and large progress is possible.—(Report, Vol. I, p. 232)

Though the Commission envisaged some temporary revision of wages, they opposed the extension of the working day. Their important recommendations included the state ownership of coal, the amalgamation of mines, the formation of cooperative selling agencies, and powers to local authorities to embark upon the retail sale of coal.

Notwithstanding the considered conclusions of the Samuel commission and its emphasis on the need for reorganization and development, the mine owners returned to their old prescriptions to meet the problem in April—longer hours, lower wages. Into the subsequent negotiations this is not the place to enter in detail. The situation bore a resemblance to that of 1925. There was the simple demand of the owners to degrade wages and increase hours, and the stubborn refusal of the miners, with the full support of the whole trade union movement, to accept the owners' offer. The Industrial Committee of the General Council which had intervened in 1925 again took part in the negotiations. Another conference of trade union executives was called, but instead of approving a limited sympathetic strike, it decided, on the breakdown of negotiations, to call a strike of much larger proportions. The conviction that the miners were being called upon to suffer for the appalling neglect of the employers and the ineptitude of Governments was strengthened, and the general strike was the consequence.

In the course of the negotiations, Mr. Baldwin had announced the intention of the Government to accept the commission's report, provided the other parties accepted it also. But after the withdrawal of the general strike, the prime minister submitted proposals which incompletely translated the proposals of the report into definite promises, and indeed actually departed from its terms. When these proposals were rejected by both mine owners and miners, the Government in a letter to the Miners' Federation (May 22) stated that they—

> have never concealed the fact that there are recommendations in the report that they only accepted with reluctance, and could not have accepted except in the hope of a general settlement. This hope has been disappointed. In these circumstances, it must be clearly understood that the Government . . . . no longer hold themselves bound by the terms of an offer which has been rejected.

This, in spite of the fact that the Government themselves set up the commission, that its findings bore out the conclusions of previous enquiries, and that its report received a large measure of public support.

Viewed in retrospect, the drama leading to the general strike seems to unfold itself as the march of fate. The prologue was recited in the years before the war. The epilogue has still to be written. Perhaps it would be truer to say that another act has yet to be produced, for clearly the story is unfinished. It is inconceivable that the coal industry can continue to ignore the lessons of official enquiries. Uncertainty, instability and turmoil are the inevitable lot of the industry so long as it persists in ignoring proved facts and reiterated recommendations for its reorganization. Whatever be the immediate results of the present miners' stoppage, they cannot obliterate the fundamental issues which created the general strike. These are threefold. First, the condition of the coal industry as proved by successive enquiries, (*Continued on page* 440)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Internationalization of Coal: Has It Begun?

By S. ADELE SHAW

THE British general strike put coal before the world as a national issue. Because of that few thinking persons still believe that wages and hours in the coal industry are the concern solely of operators and workers in a given colliery or even of a given district.

But equally few are aware of the headway coal is making as an international issue; headway until recently discernable chiefly through the efforts labor has been putting forth especially in Germany and in Great Britain. Labor sees rivalry and competition in the international coal market breaking down. The miners believe that stability can come only with international cooperation and that upon stability the improvement of their lot depends.

The International Labor Office has been aiding these efforts of the miners, while the commission of economic experts recently sitting at Geneva to arrange the agenda for the proposed world-wide economic conference under the sponsorship of the League of Nations, had before it the question of over-production of coal and the means of preventing it.

During the past winter, moreover, efforts looking toward stabilization of the world market have been cropping out among coal operators. "Feelers" have been put out. "Conversations" have been held between operators of different countries. And now the European press announces a coming conference of mine owners and operators looking toward an international agreement for regulation of the coal industry.

Great Britain with an export of 30 per cent of her output of coal is about the best vantage ground from which to survey the situation. The coal crisis, as one Britisher put it, "is not the result of transient causes peculiar to the economic growth of our industrial life during the past few years, but of causes which stretch far out beyond the borders of any one country into the international evolution of the worlds fuel industry." This fact touches every nerve in a country with more than a million receiving unemployment payments, with coal on an average of 2,000 feet below the surface, a country into which four out of every five mouthsful of food has to be imported in ships' bottoms which formerly carried one-third of the country's coal production to the world's markets.

OVER-PRODUCTION and under-consumption of coal is the common source of the trouble from which both employers and employed in the industry are suffering in Europe, in the opinion of government officials, operators, workmen, economists and others with whom the writer discussed the matter on a recent visit to England and the Continent. Other factors enter in, more particularly deflation in Great Britain and Germany, antiquated methods of production and distribution especially in Great Britain, and excessive taxation. But the main factor is the international one, the contraction of the coal market simultaneously with the expansion of coal production in countries which before the war were coal importing countries; a situation which Sir Alfred Mond, British financier, and member of Lloyd George's cabinet recently turned Conservative, declares to be "one of the most important elements in the whole economic struggle of our time."

Here are some figures on world production which show not merely that world coal production is almost up to prewar figures but that it is the rise of the coal-producing countries of the Southern Hemisphere that is keeping it up:

	1913 *Millions Tons*	1924 *Millions Tons*	*Increase or Reduction per cent*
Europe	604.75	549	— 9.1
America	533.3	518	— 2.6
Africa	8.2	11.9	+45.2
Asia	55.3	70.7	+27.8
Australasia	14.5	18.5	+27.6
Total	1,216.0	1,183.1	— 2.7

Figures on consumption are difficult to secure. Frank Hodges, secretary of the International Federation of Miners, estimates that the world trade of 140,000,000 tons before the war has dropped 20 per cent. Sir Alfred Mond last fall placed production at 30 per cent over consumption. The contraction of the market is reflected in Great Britain's export of 50,817,000 tons in 1925 as compared with 73,200,000 tons in 1913, a reduction of over 30 per cent.

China, Japan, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia developed during the war great quantities of coal of their own. The figures for India are interesting. In 1913 her production was 16.21 million tons. By 1923 it had come up to 19.66 millions. In 1913 her imports were .65 million tons. By 1923 they had dropped to .13 million tons. Moreover, from now on the main source of India's imports will be South Africa, one of the new producing districts which have not only developed enough coal for their own use but surpluses for export as well. There is indeed a well defined struggle developing between the Eastern countries and South Africa for the export trade. By 1921 Great Britain had felt the effects of South African export as far north as Scandinavia and within a year or two it is likely she will not send another ton of coal through the Suez Canal, certainly not for bunkerage purposes. China and Japan even now are coaling their own depots for high seas ships.

Russia, like South Africa, is invading the Mediterranean.

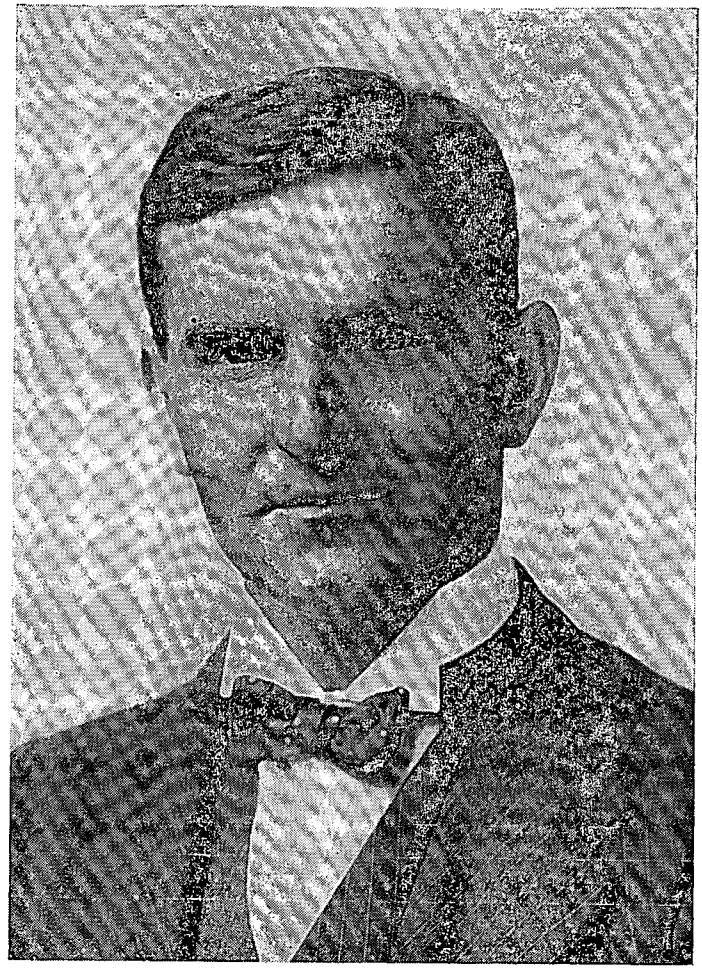
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Her industries are so much behind pre-war days that although formerly she imported 6,000,000 tons of British coal, now she takes but 500,000, and is exporting coal of her own.

IN taking the long or international view of the coal situation little emphasis is placed upon depressed trade for the reason that it is considered a matter which will adjust itself gradually as a result of recovery from deflation, revival of the war-stricken countries and the industrial development of such countries as South America, India and Russia.

Coal substitutes are, however, given great emphasis in the discussion of permanently diminishing coal markets. Oil and hydro-electric power are of course coal's greatest competitors today. Oil is replacing coal on the seas for raising steam, not only on passenger and naval vessels but on the mercantile marine as well. No modern class ship carrying armaments now uses coal for fuel. Naval engineers go in for oil because of its steam raising capacity, its compact storage, more rapid loading, cleanliness and the much smaller labor force required to handle it. The effect of the change to oil-driven naval ships was apparent during the coal discussion in the British Parliament last summer when a government official made the statement that the cost of coal used by the British Navy in 1913 amounted to £2,080,800 while the cost for 1924 came to but £534,500. Asked the amount of the oil bill, he replied: "I regret it is not in the public interest to furnish the cost of oil."

A. J. Cook



Photograph by Walter Scott

Frank Hodges

Considering the increase in the price of coal since 1913, the statement might fairly be interpreted to indicate that the British Navy consumes today about one-eighth of the amount of coal consumed in 1913.

The following table taken from Lloyd's shows the gross tonnage of vessels either originally fitted or subsequently converted to burn oil during the past six years, with 1914 for comparison:

Year	*Gross Tons*
July 1914	1,310,209
" 1919	5,336,678
" 1920	9,359,334
" 1921	12,796,635
" 1922	14,464,162
" 1923	15,792,418
" 1924	17,154,072

Not all these ships are necessarily burning oil. Some are designed to replace oil by coal-burning fittings when oil is unobtainable or when its price as compared with coal is so high as to make its use unprofitable. Moreover, although oil-driven tonnage has increased so markedly, the tonnage driven by coal is well maintained in new construction. While, therefore, the replacement of coal by oil is a tendency on the high seas, too much emphasis should not be placed on it as a factor in the present decrease of world consumption of coal.

This view is confirmed by the figures on British bunker coal, which holds its own, though American bunker coal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has decreased considerably. Lloyd"s report is as follows:

Thousands of long tons

	1921	1922	1923	1924
British Bunkers	10,926	18,259	18,159	17,689
U.S.A. "	7,548	4,120	4,547	3,989

The substitution of oil for coal in industrial plants is reflected in the British export to Chile, a country which in 1923 took but one-thirtieth of the amount she took in 1913. Great Britain's share of Chile's import had not diminished but the nitrate fields had turned to oil, supplies of which were near by, and there had also been a rapid increase of electrification. The Argentine showed a similar though less marked drop for the same reason. The development of the use of oil, peat and wood as fuel in Sweeden in recent years amounts to an equivalent of 1.3 million tons of coal a year. This taken in connection with Sweden's progress in electrification probably means the permanent ousting of Great Britain from her former large coal trade there.

Hydro-electric power as a substitute for coal is a dramatic development in Europe. In addition to its appearance in the Scandinavian countries its rapid development in the Alps is amazing. Switzerland, France, and Italy, and to some extent Spain, are a net work of power lines which are bringing about a rapid electrification of the railways and industrial plants. By 1932 Swiss railways will be completely electrified. In Italy consumption of hydro-electric power increased 35 per cent from 1921-2 to 1923-4. In 1924-5 another 24 plants were to be installed and a further 56 plants are projected. British exports of coal to Italy have consistently decreased during this period.

Figures for France, however, tell the real story of the water-power development of the Alps. France today has installed stations representing a total of 2,250,000 horse-power and, according to official statistics, has at least 8,000,000 horse-power more available. In terms of coal the former figure represents an annual saving of 12,000,000 tons and the latter an additional saving of 48,000,000. It has been estimated by a former minister of public works that another three million horse-power can be developed to advantage, representing an annual economy on the basis of 100 francs for a ton of industrial coal, of 3,000,000,000 francs now paid to foreign mines. Even now France is making experiments with harnessing the tidal waters of the Channel. So long as the Peace Treaty provisions are in force France will not need outside coal to any great amount.

As to the more economic use of coal, the fact is the world is passing on from the use of raw coal as fuel to the use of coal as a source of power. Even if the saving there amounts as yet to but a million tons of coal a year, this counts when put together with the other factors involved in the diminishing world market. Belgium and France are getting more calorific value out of their coal. France, it should also be borne in mind, has re-equipped the mines devastated by the Germans with the most modern machinery. Italy's Technical Commission, appointed last fall by the Commissioner of National Economy to study the best means of utilizing industrial fuels, recently emphasized the use of national fuels as a means of still further reducing her coal import through the production of briquettes from coal dust, production of fuel oils and other thrifty measures.

In Germany industries have been rapidly adapting to the new growth of giant power. The German situation is particularly enlightening in this respect. Before the war German lignite or brown coal and the briquettes made from it were little used. Dirty and easily broken, they were in demand only by village industries which could not easily obtain black coal. Today, owing to various scientific discoveries during the war period, valuable products and by-products are made from this coal, so that it is used in many of the best houses and offices in Germany, and furnaces have readily been adapted to its use. This increased domestic use of brown coal means a large increase in the amount of black coal available for export.

This then gives the background for the growing agitation for internationalization.

THE part which labor has played in bringing the world-wide aspects of the coal crisis before the public is one of the most significant phases of the disturbance in the coal fields. The necessity of an international arrangement to prevent over-production and a still greater fall in prices has been sensed by labor so much more readily than by capital as to move Sir Alfred Mond to remark last fall on his return from an investigation of the coal situation on the Continent:

> It is not surprising that the more intelligent workmen are beginning to lose faith in the capacity of those who claim to direct their industry, to do so successfully either for Capital or for Labor. . . . It is surely the duty of those in all countries whose function it is to direct industry to endeavor to arrive at some international arrangement. It seems a sad fact that the miners' unions have already held an international conference of their organizations and passed a resolution pointing to over-production as the root evil, whereas there seems to be as yet no move by the mine owners of the different countries to take similar action.

It is Frank Hodges, brilliant young Welsh miner, for some years secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, member of Parliament for Lichfield in 1923 and Civil Lord of the Admiralty in the Labour Government, who now, as secretary of the Miners International Federation, is responsible for much of the economic program of the miners which developed during last summer although the late Otto Hué, former leader of the German miners, was probably the first to suggest an international conference of mine owners to organize the industry of all coal-producing countries. Mr. Hodges believes in a Joint Board of International Control as the proper solution of the present situation. This is the way a few months ago he presented his point of view to the writer:

> The market for raw fuel is diminishing internationally. Therefore the fight for it is becoming more intense. Great Britain, Germany and the United States are the three countries most acutely involved in the situation. If during the next ten years 120,000,000 tons of coal is to be exported yearly, these three countries will compete for the trade. Great Britain, who before the war exported one-third of her production, still commands the largest proportion of the trade, but her struggle to hold it has become more intense than ever before in her history. If America, Great Britain and Germany continue to fight economically we will all be drawn into the fray. If Great Britain attempts to undersell the others not only will a chaos be created in the industry but also the reactions on the working people will be serious. If Great Britain and Germany, for instance, try to undersell each other the principal element of attack will be the wages of the workmen. If Great Britain gets wages down then the German workmen will be compelled to accept a (*Continued on page* 437)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Next?

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

NOW that the British general strike has gone down into history leaving constitutional parliamentary government seemingly more firmly established than ever, there is a disposition among us Americans to discount the possible bearing of that momentous episode upon our industrial and political life. Yet for a brief spell during the first weeks in May, a quickening of pulse was manifest among eager readers of wireless and cabled dispatches. What was it that spread general strike news across the front pages of American newspapers? Russia, Italy and now the Mother of Parliaments. If direct action triumphed in Great Britain, must not the end there too be a dictatorship? And how would the contagion of such an Anglo-Saxon example affect the workingclass mind in America? Such questions one heard on the commuters' trains, in street cars, in clubs, on the streets.

But there was no revolution. The general strike was called off before even its ostensible objective, the settlement of the coal strike on the miners' terms, had been attained. The coal strike dragged on like any ordinary deadlock. The leaders of the parliamentary majority had the reins in their hands. The leaders of the rebellious trade unions were being made to eat crow. To most Americans, the cry of revolution was a false alarm. The reaction from the first ominous impressions is so complete that even the reality of the rebellious state of mind that led millions of workers to down tools in concert in defense of their threatened standard of living, or the persistence of that state of mind now that they have demobilized, is discounted. The general strike has faded into the trans-Atlantic distance as a local affair without special significance for America.

Yet in spite of our more fortunate economic situation, our more abundant natural resources, our more modern technical equipment, our higher level of economic well-being, we are perversely permitting the story of our coal industry to repeat the British record of neglect, drift, and mismanagement, and like the British we are visiting the costs of sloth and incompetence upon the miners. Foreign observers, conservative British observers especially, have a way of congratulating us upon the absence here of that obsessional class-consciousness, that growling latency of class warfare, which is increasingly characteristic of British as of many continental communities. The wisest of our industrial leaders both on the side of labor and management, recognizing this advantage, are striving to use our resources to avert class hatred by building up the spirit and habit of labor-management cooperation. But such wisdom is no more evident in our bituminous coal industry than in that of Great Britain.

So ardent a eulogist of private industrial initiative as Secretary Hoover has declared bituminous coal the worst-functioning of all our industries. Its history too has been a history of mismanagement, inefficiency and waste; of over-development, unregulated development, intermittent operation and employment, of gamblers profits and losses for the operators, uncertain earnings for the miners. It too has had its crises, presidential strike commissions, congressional hearings, and latterly—1922—a fact-finding commission, instructed to make recommendations "which would be deemed helpful in determining and establishing a wise and efficient policy by the Government relative to said industry." Here too, as in England, Congress and the President have been skillful chiefly in avoiding action and so discrediting the recommendations which committees and commissions have made. Today the government, so far as the uninitiate can see, has no policy relative to said industry, except the stale policy of hands-off as modified by the anti-trust laws. The industry has no overt policy except the traditional policy of drift. And another crisis looms up with the termination of the agreement between the United Mine Workers and the operators in the older and unionized fields at midnight of March 31, 1927.

THE high spots in the history of bituminous coal since the signing of that agreement in Jacksonville, Florida, make it clear that we are not taking advantage of our opportunity to avert the development of debased living conditions and the consequent discontent which, exacerbated in Great Britain by decades of neglect, culminated there in the general strike. The United Mine Workers of America have been the greatest single organized force in lifting wages in the bituminous industry to the level of the generally recognized American standard. In 1920, the award of the United States Bituminous Coal Commission fixed the minimum rate of the day men—track layers, trip riders, timbermen, motormen, carpenters etc.—at $7.50 a day, approximately the rate then paid for similar work on the railroads, though less than in the building trades. During the depression of 1921, a drive to "deflate" wages swept the country. In 1922, the miners struck to resist this drive, and, largely because of the synchronous losing strike of the railway shopmen, succeeded. In 1924 the 1920 wage-scale was continued to April 1, 1927, by the Jacksonville agreement.

As illustrating the fact that the federal administration can exert a powerful influence upon the coal industry even without further legislation, the circumstances surrounding the convening of the national joint conferences of miners and operators which drafted that agreement are noteworthy. It was the spring of a presidential election year. A strike would have been highly inconvenient. Testifying before the House committee on interstate commerce last May, Secretary Hoover, as quoted by Coal Age, said:

> Both Mr. Davis, secretary of labor, and myself urged the operators and miners to convene at Jacksonville. . . . Difficulty arose as to whether the operators would attend that conference, and Mr. Davis and I both devoted ourselves to urging that they should get together, in the hope that they would be able to settle their difficulties without a lockout or strike.

Not only did the operators attend, but they did not insist

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the reduction in wages the miners' refusal to consider which had made them reluctant to attend.

But that time, the unionized fields were producing about 60 per cent of the bituminous output, the non-union about 40 per cent. Since then that ratio has been reversed. From the beginning, the operators in the non-union fields refused to recognize the Jacksonville scale and reverted to the wage level of 1917 or earlier. This competitive advantage enabled them to cut in on the markets of the unionized operators. Many operators who had signed the Jacksonville agreement, after running for a time at a loss, first shut down their mines, and then reopened them, in disregard of the contract, at the non-union wage level.

To charge these operators with moral turpitude, as the miners' union does, may be to ignore the economic imperative which they adduce in extenuation of their conduct, but the effect upon the miners is the same. Increased production in the non-union fields, at a time when thousands of mines in the older organized fields were partly or wholely idle, reduced the average days of operation in the eleven leading bituminous coal states to 172, with Illinois dropping to 148 days and Ohio trailing at 143 even before the end of 1924. The average yearly earnings of the skilled men, the miners and loaders, as reported by the Departmnt of Labor, fell to $1,128. This desperate condition the leaders of the organized miners charge principally to the "business sins" of the operators who, having signed the agreement, subsequently treated it as "a scrap of paper."

With the merits of this moral controversy it is not here possible to deal. Evidence that even the most powerful operators are helpless to solve the underlying problem without governmental assistance—even if that were at the start only such extra-legal assistance as Secretaries Hoover and Davis gave in 1924—is impressive. Take for instance the case of the Consolidation Coal Company, one of the largest producers in the world. Part of their record since the Jacksonville agreement has been published in the form of letters and telegrams exchanged between the president of the consolidation, C. W. Watson, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a stockholder, and between Mr. Watson and President Lewis of the United Mine Workers. On July 1, 1925, Mr. Rockefeller, calling Mr. Watson's attention to Mr. Lewis' press statement that Consolidation had repudiated its contract, asked him "to give me the facts in the matter, for the charge is a serious one." In reply, Mr. Watson summarized his correspondence with Mr. Lewis. In a telegram of May 29, he had said:

> For over a year and at an appalling loss the Consolidation Coal Company worked under the existing wage contract in good faith till further operation became impossible in the face of heavy losses. . . . Practically the entire production of the Fairmont Field . . . is now being produced chiefly by former members of the United Mine Workers under wage rates over 30 per cent less than the Union scale contract. . . . As an actual economic fact, from lack of enforcement in that field, the Fairmont Union wage scale has disappeared. Our company, as always, will abrogate no contract, labor or otherwise. . . The dissolution of the existing wage contract must be decided by the Consolidation employes, in whose interest it was negotiated and whose interest it was designed to protect.

In answer, Mr. Lewis on June 1 said:

> It still remains that representatives of the Consolidation Coal Company signed a three-year wage agreement with representatives of the United Mine Workers of America at the Baltimore Conference in 1924. . . . You now propose to destroy it for the specious reason that certain other companies have done so.

And on June 3, in reply to another telegram from Mr. Watson, he added:

> I do not question your statement that a number of your employes, who have been idle for a long time, may have been forced by poverty to petition you to reopen at a reduced wage. . . . Conceding, however, the general accuracy of your statement, I cannot conceive how the business sins of other operators can justify your Company in the abrogation and utter destruction of the Baltimore* agreement. The stark naked question is this: You and I, acting through our agents for and in behalf of our mutual interests, are under written agreement. . . . Do you now propose that as one of the principals you will strike down this agreement?

In a memorandum on the subject, appended to the correspondence, the Company, which has reopened mines at wages below the contract scale, declares that

> . . . the contract, being in its essence a collective agreement, is already broken and gone. Neither side has been able to cope with the forces that brought this about.

That concluding sentence, coming from the president of one of the largest concerns in the industry, goes to the essence of the story which is duplicating the earlier chapters of the story of British coal. The Jacksonville agreement terminates next spring. There is every probability that our operators will this time be as adamant as the British in demanding wage reductions "to save the industry from ruin," and that the organized miners will resist. If wages are cut in the unionized fields the non-union operators, in order to keep their competitive advantage will be under pressure to cut them still further and to the very bone. It is not then unlikely that the strike contagion will spread into the unorganized fields as it did in 1922, and that our basic industry will be crippled if not completely shut down. Against this event neither the leaders in the industry nor the leaders in Washington are taking effective measures. The strike may fail, the union may be temporarily beaten back, the public may get coal. But millions of minds in the coal fields will be plowed and harrowed for the seed of bitterness and class hatred, whose long term harvest is general strikes and an attitude of mind destructive of intelligent inter-group cooperation. Bituminous coal is commercially mined in twenty-nine of our states. The bituminous problem is not a local or state problem; it can be effectively dealt with only on a national scale; it calls for national leadership. It is a varied and complex problem. Experience has demonstrated that it will not be solved by any single panacea. What the industry most needs today is not legislation but the aid of alert and intelligent guidance of a semi-official character, to help operators and miners to get together for the consideration of their common difficulties, to overcome their inhibitions, fears and suspicions, to do before the impending crisis of next spring what the anthracite operators and miners, with the help of sympathetic outside intervention, did last winter after one hundred and sixty-five days of bulldog fighting. But the needed leadership is not forthcoming. In the face of the long record of disastrous drift, in the face of the confession by powerful operators that neither they nor the miners are able to cope with the forces that are carrying them toward a crisis, especially in the face of the ominous British example, we exhibit public lethargy and official neglect.

*A district agreement based upon the Jacksonville agreement.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

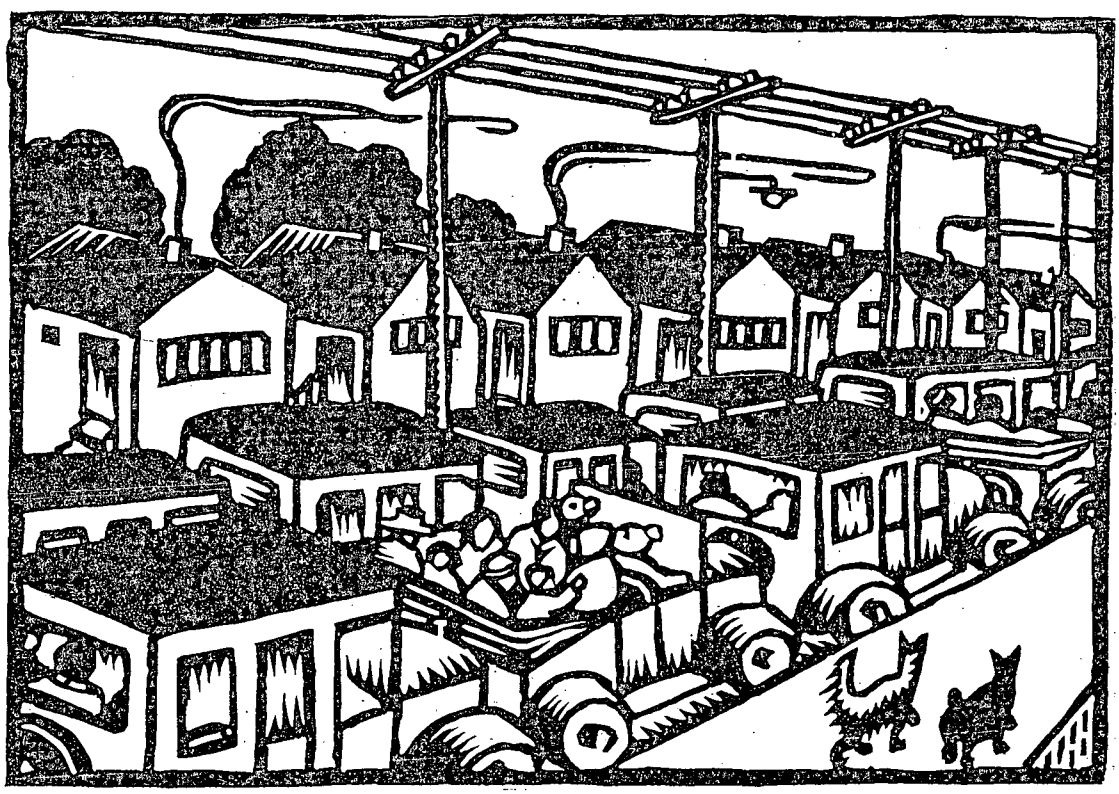
On pleasure bent

Coney Island 1926

Linoleum Cuts

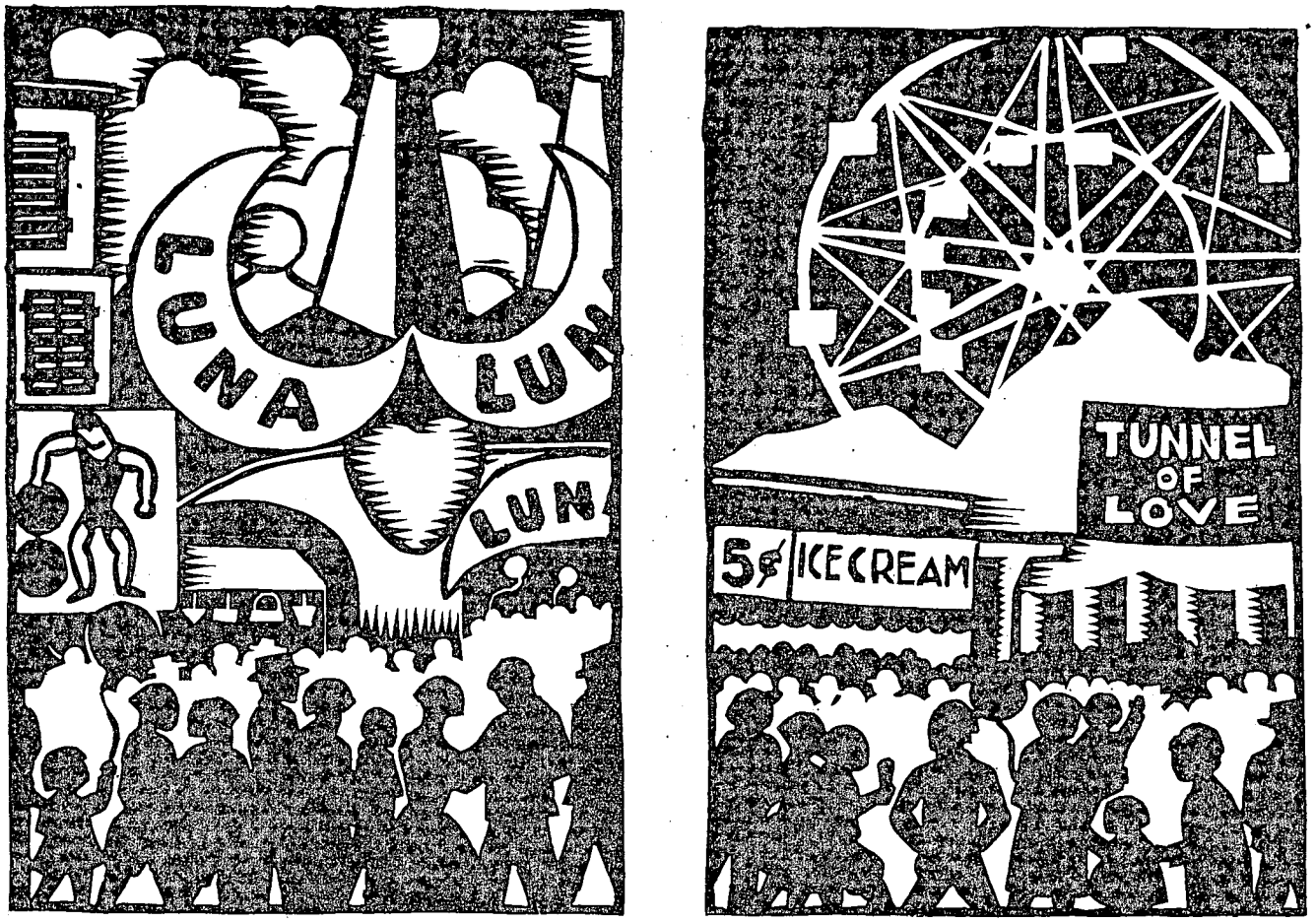
by MARGARET SCHLOEMANN

MILLIONS of New Yorkers escape daily from unbearably hot and stuffy cliff dwellings to the breezes on the boardwalk and municipal beach at Coney Island. Subways and highways are jammed with traffic. Native Americans join the throng and count Luna Park one of the wonders of New York, returning to their own towns with visions of bigger roller coasters and mirth-provoking "features" for their local amusement parks. The blare and thrill of a perpetual circus keep the crowds moving along the garish street in holiday mood. And this is an American invention, purely, that, like the standard oil can and the sewing machine has spread over the world. Traveling "Luna Parks" operated by electricity tour the French country towns; the British Imperial Exposition at Wembly was enlivened by entertainments copied from Coney Island. The artist interprets here the atmosphere of America's most famous playground.



Every kind of car packs the road to Coney

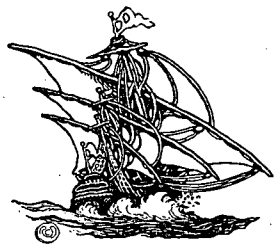
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Luna Park has the thrill of a perpetual circus—all side shows and no big top

The beach New York's front porch

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EDITORIALS

"MAY I suggest that invention, improved engineering, and courage to take the road, are needed now more in the social than in the physical sciences. I recommend that we take the overhead of research and experiment in the social field now when the social balance sheet is stable and not postpone them to the day when it may be too late." These were the concluding sentences of an address delivered, not before the National Conference of Social Work but before the annual convention of the National Electric Light Association. The speaker, Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of directors of the General Electric Company, sees in the development of great supplies of cheap electrical power a solvent of labor troubles, a guarantee of social peace. "To the extent to which we may substitute inanimate power for that generated by the muscles of human beings, we shall not only relieve the exertion of workers, but we shall increase their output which is the only way of advancing wages and living conditions.... We must aim to make the earning power of human beings so large as to supply them not only with a living wage, but a cultural wage....Let no man think that power supply is remote in its reactions on human welfare."

One of the chief obstacles to the more rapid development of the power industry is the atmosphere of suspicion and hostility that surrounds the relations between the electric public utilities and the public. When a clash of interest arises, the politician confounds his own with the public advantage; the utility operator, devoted to the interests of his company, wants something which it seems clear he should have. "He goes after it and resents interference." Blind partisanship poisons impartiality.

The classic example is the war which for decades has raged around the question of public vs. private ownership, especially of our great water-power resources. Neither side has often approached the problem of the best method of developing these resources in the spirit of impartial scientific inquiry. The need for scientific exploration and research in this field is evidenced by the fact that even Mr. Young bases his conviction that "efficiency and economy of operation are best accomplished by private ownership," upon the opportunity which he individually has had "during the last few years to observe the operation of publicly owned enterprises in most of the principal countries of the world." Mr. Young is a highly qualified observer, but even his observation is a narrow basis for so broad a generalization. But he recognizes that the discussion of this question has been clouded "by the old animosities," and that while the debate goes on, "vast rivers go unharnessed for power, waterways are undeveloped, floods drown us, and droughts devour us." He therefore calls for a broader view in the public interest from the representatives of both the utilities and the public.

The decision as to whether water shall be stored primarily to prevent floods, for irrigation, improved navigation, or the generation of power should, he believes, be left to the government "without protest much less opposition from any private power company." In most cases where storage dams are built, power can be developed without impairment of the other uses. Mr. Young proposes that the construction and ownership of such enterprises should be in the hands of a public corporation, "the stock of which should be government owned, with the provision that the corporation finance the enterprise with its own securities." He believes that our experience with the War Finance Corporation, a wholly public concern, and with the Federal Reserve Banks, gives assurance that "we can obtain men of technical qualification and high purpose, free from political bias, to administer these enterprises in such a way that development can be most advantageously achieved with justice to all interests."

Surely some way must be found to utilize the vast power resources that now run to waste in our unharnessed streams. Whether Mr. Young's specific proposal is, from the point-of-view of social consequences, the best means to that end, we are not prepared to say. He is certainly right, however, when he says that the practical engineering problem will not be difficult to solve once the atmosphere of heated controversy and prejudice is cleared away, and when he suggests that the persistence of this atmosphere signalizes greater need today for invention, improved engineering, research and experiment in the field of the social than in the physical sciences.

WHILE the durability of the Soviet Republic was still matter for a kind of universal debate, the Survey Graphic in 1923 gave over an entire issue to an interpretation of the social forces at work in Russia. It was made up in large part of articles by outstanding Russians—educators, industrialists, politicians and scientists. Now, a decade after the revolution, it is pertinent to inquire the general effect of the Bolshevik experiment upon the common life of the country. The Foreign Policy Association has accordingly rendered a distinctive service in making a rigorously objective study of the important changes which have taken place in the soviet economic system during the past eight years, with a view to making clear the present status of Russia's trade relations with the rest of the world, and especially those with the United States. The data utilized in this survey, taken largely from Russian official sources, are interpreted critically and with unprecedented frankness. The survey was written by Savel Zimand, who five years ago, gathered the materials for our Russian number.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the one hand, in the period under review, American humanitarian forces have been engaged in large projects for relief and reconstruction. On the other, American diplomatic relations have been atrophied by anti-communist propaganda. What of trade developments? The report states that in the last year the trade with Russia by American manufacturers and exporters has reached a volume which in money value is more than twice what it was before the war and revolution. In the course of the last twelve months our export trade to Russia doubled. It is noted that although no United States commercial attaches or consuls are at the service of American exporters in the Russian trade area, four official trading companies are operating in the United States, some of them under our state laws; and that the Russian State Bank and the Russian Foreign Trade Bank are represented here by some of our leading banking institutions. According to Russian official data, the United States supplied in the period from 1909 to 1913 an average of 7 per cent and in 1924-25 nearly 30 per cent of the total Russian imports.

In another passage in the section of the report given up to Russian-American trade, it is pointed out that its further development depends upon increased agricultural production. Unless Russia has a substantial surplus of wheat, rye, flax, etc. for export she cannot buy abroad. The crops of 1925 were exceptionally satisfactory, but the surplus available for export was much less than expected because the peasants, unable to buy goods at what they considered fair prices, withheld from the market as much of their grain as possible.

So far as the general industrial situation goes, Mr. Zimand points out that the soviet authorities have frequently been obliged to scrap their communist theories, when the latter clashed too harshly with economic realities, and have made big concessions to capitalistic standards. Some of the more orthodox followers of Marx have occasionally protested violently against these concessions, but in vain. The report chronicles that the intermittent "cat and mouse" tactics practised shortly after the institution of the New Economic Policy now appear to be permanently in the discard and that the tendency toward doing business on a capitalist basis grows stronger from day to day. For instance it sets forth that in spite of attempts by state competition to break the back of private capitalism in 1925, private enterprise is again enjoying a free hand. This contention is backed by figures which would seem to show that 50 per cent of the retail trade of Russia today is in the hands of private traders. Even the rigorous government monopoly of foreign trade has been modified the last year.

Meanwhile, not only has there been substantial progress in clearing up the general domestic financial situation, but industrial production last November had reached 71 per cent of the 1913 output, compared with the 15 per cent recovery by 1921. The report refers to the steady growth of Russian imports and exports from the zero point of that year. In 1924-25 imports into Soviet Russia over both the European and Asiatic frontiers were 52.2 per cent of the like imports into Russia for the calendar year 1913, while 1924-25 Russian exports over all frontiers were 37.3 per cent of like exports in 1913.

The report steers wide of any discussion of political issues, yet its dispassionate pages are essentially a challenging footnote to the course of American diplomacy in the past decade. We seem to have reversed positions with our British cousins. A hundred years ago they were given over to their dreads while our young New World Republic had understanding relationships with Revolutionary France. Today, western Europe has recognized Russia and we have not. Our traders, however, have had their ears to the ground, and caught and acted on the tidings of post-war Russian reconstruction.

THERE ought to be a good job for a traffic manager in directing the deliberations of New York's new City Planning and Survey Committee, to which over 470 persons had already accepted appointment when Mayor Walker announced its formation in mid-June, with more to come. This truly metropolitan concourse will, it is true, be subdivided into seven sections, to deal respectively with

Housing, Zoning and Distribution of Population
Port and Terminal Facilities
Traffic Regulation and Street Uses
Sanitation and Harbor Pollution
Highways and Bridges
Parks and Recreational Facilities
New Sources of City Revenue.

But even the subcommittees will be overly large for the effective discovery of answers to New York's many more than seven-fold enigmas, unless their function is simply to serve as sounding-boards for the constructive suggestions of experts.

An odd limitation on the plan as announced is that no members of the committee are charged with a study of transit. One would like to think that this meant a recognition on the part of official New York that the hullabaloo about subway building and bus-lines is after all barking up the very wrong tree, and that if the questions lumped under the heading Housing, Zoning and Distribution of Population were seriously and fundamentally answered the transit situation would in the long run fall into its proper subsidiary place. But the official explanation is that the regularly ordained city legislative bodies are now busily considering these transit matters and there is therefore no need at present of volunteer formulation of policy.

AMONG the expert groups to which the new committee may turn its multitudinous ear is the staff of the Committee on a Regional Plan of New York and its Environs, which made its usual annual report of progress at a meeting in the Town Hall on May 25, a little more than four years after the similar meeting which inaugurated the project. With a year and a half or two years of work still ahead of it, the Committee has reached the stage of forecasting that its findings will appear in eight or ten volumes, and has begun to exhibit specimen maps, on a grand scale, of its general recommendations for the utilization of land within the 50-mile radius from New York's city hall. Some clues to the principles which will underly the findings were given by the technical director of the (*Continued on page* 436)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

The Heavens Declare

THE big car slid up to the service station on a Maryland back-road near Washington. The horn sounded. The chauffeur wanted gas. But nobody came. So he got down, as did his passenger—a General in the United States Army. They went into the garage and then stopped short.

Perhaps twenty men, some in overalls, were standing in a silent group, their hats off in their hands. Some one was praying. The officer stepped back in confusion, but a mechanic whispered, "Wait a little, sir, the bishop is praying." He pointed at a loud-speaker perched on a second-hand automobile. From this came the solemn intonations of the prayer. The general quietly removed his cap and joined the worship at this garage which had been turned into a wayside church by grace of the radio. The Right Reverend James E. Freeman, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Washington was conducting services as he does every Sunday afternoon through Station WCAP to an unseen congregation estimated at half a million. After the benediction, the garageman explained:

"You see, sir, there is no church in ten miles so the neighborhood men have gotten into the habit of coming here on Sunday afternoons to hear the Cathedral services. We never permit any work while the service is 'on the air.'"

Bishop Freeman himself states his belief thus: "I believe the use of the air for transmitting the message of the gospel is the greatest demonstration of the real spiritual power of the things invisible the world has ever seen. It dissolves all differences and distinctions....I believe the radio will be a potent factor in making the twentieth century the age of the brotherhood of man. More and more I have come to feel that this growing feeling of brotherhood may result from the intimacy and fellowship created through the medium of the air."

This is the larger vision. The present fact is that whoever has a radio receiver anywhere (even at the North Pole!) may by a twirl of the dials listen to the greatest preachers and the noblest ecclesiastical music. Consider Easter. Bishop Manning broadcast a message from the Episcopal cathedral of New York and Archbishop Glennon celebrated pontifical high mass from the Roman Catholic cathedral in St. Louis. You could attend morning service at fashionable St. Thomas's in New York, or the historic South church in Boston. The Presbyterian could choose the West End church in New York, and the Baptist hear John Roach Straton at Calvary church. Or he could attend church in Schenectady, Chicago, or Los Angeles. In the afternoon (and every Sunday afternoon) he could have joined the interdenominational service of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, the Young People's Conference at the Marble Collegiate church, or the throng who delight in the shrewd wisdom and rapid-fire answers to questions from Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches in America. And later had his spirit calmed by the vespers at St. George's in New York with music directed by Harry Burleigh.

Nor need the worshipper at newer shrines go uncomforted. John H. Randall, of the New York Community church, spoke through the Ford Forum of Boston. The Christian Scientist almost nightly can choose between the orthodoxy of Mary Baker Eddy's successors from WMAC or the heterodoxy of Augusta Stetson from WHAP. Indeed, several stations are primarily religious institutions though they interpose music and talks in their evangelism. Such are WBBR of The International Bible Students on Staten Island, New York, and WLWL of the Paulist Fathers. This last broadcasts the Sunday night sermon and the noble chants of the Paulist choristers and offers a catechetical question-box weekly—again proving that the College of the Propaganda serves itself with the new devices. Fridays the noble intoning of the Jewish service is often on the air, with heart-piercing music. There are moments of religion all through the week; the Greater New York Federation provided a morning prayer period from 7:45 to 8 o'clock during the winter and a "hymn sing" each Thursday evening.

The very bells of the church rang in our ears last fall when the lovely music of the carillon in the tower of the Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York played by a Belgian carilloneur was caught by WJZ's microphones netted over the church roof and flung across the land to delight millions. Easter was a great concert ceremony with oratorios from Handel and Haydn and programs of song. Even the joyous church sacrament of marriage has been shared for last winter I overheard the faint "I will" of a bride at Freeport, Long Island, and sat entranced one night hearkening to the magnificent ritual of the Hebrew service from a synagogue.

Yes, the air certainly believes in religious freedom. You may choose your faith and nothing but static will interfere. Later the question of tolerance may arise when in the crowded air-ways a church may find it hard to secure a private wave-length on which to broadcast purely religious programs. But now the commercial stations seem remarkably open-minded. Scarcely one of the larger stations but gives part of its precious time to religious messages or music. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Telephone and Telegraph Company (WEAF), which is the billion dollar nervous system of the United States, each Sunday devotes at least four hours to sending through its own and allied stations varied religious programs. . . and ends the evening with the music from the Capitol Theater (pictures) in New York and then an hour of numbers by Opera stars or concert virtuosi. This is *not* the Anglo-Saxon Sabbath, but certainly full of the spirit of worship—and beauty. The dignity and skill with which the better stations broadcast religious exercises is rather an inspiration to those who believe the United States is not lacking in spiritual grace or good taste.

Now what of "the invisible congregation" as the minister loves to call the listeners-in? Do they listen? It is possible, of course, with some of the combination hook-ups to reach perhaps fifty million people—half the population—if they all had sets and listened. It is easy to think of ten million radio church-goers per Sunday, nation-wide. Here is a little evidence. One of New York's most prosperous churches has reported that on a certain Sunday the contributions mailed in from radio communicants exceeded the collection in the church boxes! Dr. Cadman's question-box at a Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. long since became so popular that it was made a feature by a great metropolitan daily and syndicated. Letters to studio directors have voiced a demand that leads to more not less religion on their programs. And many a golfing family that never went to church—and even felt ashamed of the hankering—now steal a bit of scripture or a hymn from the loud-speaker without loss of caste. They bootleg religion on the sly.

No, the single soul or the family is not the problem for they may retire into their cabinets for praise and prayer at will. The question is how may we use the radio for the community church without destroying any of the vigor of the church itself. It would be an inestimable loss were the local churches of the nation to be even in part supplanted by religion from the air, once a week. For the radio cannot take care of the neighborhood moral health, and offers no substitute at all for the pastoral services of the minister. Yet the competition of great orators and music not by local talent may threaten the very life of the small church. The desire for the weekly social gathering and the need for pastoral help will tend to keep the visible church active, but part of the service may use the radio to supply music and instruction.

The head of a large foundation tried an interesting experiment. He sent some half dozen good radio sets to isolated and churchless communities in the South. They were set up and the people of the neighborhood invited to attend worship. They came, but soon an odd difficulty arose. Nobody knew enough to tune these somewhat complicated instruments and keep them mechanically efficient. The experiment failed mechanically rather than religiously. This is however only a matter of educating some bright youth, or the provision of a community leader who may be a radio technician and also equipped with pastoral powers. Our theological seminaries may take thought (if they have not already done so) upon the need to instruct their students in two new branches; first, how best to conduct a service over the radio; and second, how in a local charge to weave the radio in to enlarge and enlighten their own ministrations.

Finally and happily, the radio will bring better preaching. For there is no greater critic nor one invested with more imperial powers in the wide world than this quiet person before a loud-speaker. The radio is a great revealer of bunk. There is no mob emotion to carry men away. They listen with their reason. And if a twirl of the dial brings the sermon in a little further twirl will bring in the jazz-band from some pagan carnival. By their fruits shall ye know them.

LEON WHIPPLE.

He Broke the Victorian Silence

HAVELOCK ELLIS is the intellectual father of much of our present thought and social practice in the field of sex. His Studies in The Psychology of Sex influenced all of us, directly or by diffusion, in our way of thinking about men and women and their unions, legal, biological, spiritual. This shy poet-seeker whom Olive Schreiner described "as between Christ and a faun" shattered the Victorian conspiracy of silence, and brought the human body out again into a kind of Grecian sunlight. He is as responsible as any man for the notorious Younger Generation and its experimental frankness. Not to have read some of his Studies, surrepititiously, of course, for their sale is limited to lawyers and doctors, is to admit yourself disfranchised. Next, he contributed to the philosophy of social work in his books, The Criminal, The Nationalization of Health, A Study of British Genius, and The Task of Social Hygiene. He provided an honest body of data in fields where data too often turns out hypothesis, to-wit sex and heredity. Finally, many a thought-weary beauty-avid modern has found that noble ritual for living, The Dance of Life, a missal of faith and beauty and courage—something warmer than our current cynicisms, something less unattainable than our current mysticisms. In politics he seeks "a reasonable anarchy founded on a broad basis of collectivism"; in life, the triumphant processional of the mated body and soul. It is not strange Henry Mencken has called him "the most civilized Englishman of his generation."

All this, and much more, Isaac Goldberg tells with honesty and loving kindness in this first critical study of a man who was "a marvel of sanity and rounded health" and "who was at the same time grounded in science and aesthetics." This book will kill forever what suspicions the evil-minded may have had about the nature of Ellis's interest in sex. He was a poet, but a poet whose lyric love carried him into a steady scrutiny of the body. Here is a detailed and significant study of ancestry such as Ellis might have done; and here is an amusing and graphic picture of the human Ellis in his Brixton flat, proud of his cooking which he had to learn because he fed his own indigestion when teaching school in Australia. He never owned many books, but whenever possible worked away from books in the open air. And he lives without a dress-suit to his name, or his fame, perhaps! The man needed no adornment: the photographs reveal a face as clear-cut and beautiful as his thinking.

This is not a true biography, though rich in factual matters, rather a critical chronicle of Ellis's literary materia, interpreting the man by his work rather than by his life. It includes an interesting chapter on the suppression of the first of the Sex Studies by the English police in 1898, with its curiously modern sound of heresy-hunting. The sea-journeys, the education, and the medical studies (for Ellis was a physician who never practised) are sketched to whet the appetite, but do not satisfy. Indeed we feel that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We Cannot Let Them Starve!

THE coal miners of Great Britain, their women and children, four million souls in all, are in desperate straits.

They are facing sure starvation—unless you help.

These workers have been making a courageous struggle for decent wages after a long period of depression when earnings have ranged from $11 to $15 a week.

The plight of the men is bad enough. That of the women and children pitiful indeed. In wretched hovels clustered near the bleak pit heads, children are born to ill-nourished women who have been on the verge of starvation for months. Other children are growing up under the most wretched of conditions.

We appeal especially for these innocent victims of a cruel industrial war. Let us give them their chance for life.

Whatever funds you donate will be distributed by trained workers and will be entirely in the form of food.

To act promptly means the saving of lives. Give generously and give NOW. Send your check or money-order today to

EVELYN PRESTON, Treasurer
British Miners' Relief Committee
Room 638, 799 Broadway, New York City

I enclose $..... for the Coal Miners of Great Britain.

Name .....

Address .....

Survey 7-1

this book is incomplete—a sort of first draft for the Life we must someday have. The penetralia of the man and his own way of dancing through life are unrevealed—perhaps wisely and decently since he is still graciously alive. Mr. Goldberg gives us Ellis at second-hand; he did not possess or at least does not disclose the knowledge necessary to write a study such as Ellis himself describes in an Open Letter to Biographers, included here in the section that affords us an interesting unpublished anthology. Ellis found he wanted for his study of British men of Genius not a fact of record, nor yet men as history, but "the intimate picture of the life of the man."

We are grateful for Mr. Goldberg's reverential interpretation of the spirit of Havelock Ellis, but it is certainly not mere scandalous curiosity that asks about this student of sex a fuller revelation of what is here so sketchy, his friendship for Olive Schreiner, and the story of his life and love with Edith Ellis, his brilliant and intensely vital wife. If we are to learn from a man's life, let us learn the real things. It is not often that two such souls as Havelock Ellis and Olive Schreiner cross orbits in this petty world. And why not tell the rest of us how Ellis and his wife found it worked to live in separate establishments or apart for months out of the year? Here may be data on what Ellis called "the companionate" or the different "family marriage." To technicians in psychiatry, than whom none of us are more puzzled, surely should be passed on something about his methods of work and some revelation of how he secured the case histories that are the marvel of his research. This would prove a blessing to those who pursue these delicate and dangerous investigations. Havelock Ellis faced the innermost bitter secrets of sex, without fear and without reproach. He helped us recognize that perversion is an unhappy disease, not a moral crime. He was neither prude nor lecher, but remained sound and sweet and in love with life. The secret of his strength if told may prove the greatest gift of his genius. LEON WHIPPLE.

HAVELOCK ELLIS. *A Biographical and Critical Survey, by Isaac Goldberg. Simon and Schuster. 359 pp. Price $4 postpaid of The Survey.*

The Fourth Estate: Philanthropist

THE luck about Norman Radder's cheerful book Newspapers in Community Service is that while you are gaining courage from the wonderful recital of how the newspapers do yeoman service to their home towns in every conceiveable way—from initiating surveys to answering 30,000 questions over the telephone per day—you also can learn about the technique of social publicity from the technicians themselves, the editors. This is a double-barrelled book. First, it proves by massed evidence that our publishers are not the selfish money-grubbers that many critics of journalism picture, but rather just about as altruistic as any group in our society. Second, it gives lesson after lesson on what to do and what not to do to further social progress through print. It is of course aimed at newspaper editors to make them "start something," so each chapter is followed by a list of hints on what other papers have done and what your paper can do. But it should be read by every social worker who realizes that the press is his chief ally and who has the puzzle of "publicity" to handle.

The chapters tell the tale: Stimulating Civic Pride; Developing Parks and Playgrounds; Pointing The Way in Agriculture; Fostering Education and Entertainment; Hous-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing and Health; In Behalf of Constructive Charity; The Editor as Crusader; Information and Advice. Part Two gives three sound and vastly useful chapters on The Obligation of Service, Formulating and Carrying Out a Service Program. And topping all come two remarkable bibliographies of books and magazines on Municipal Problems. Social agencies might well present a copy to their local editor to guide his reading. Indeed, such a Christmas present may be the best publicity investment they ever made.

For the average editor needs education in these extra-mural activities. The social worker can begin by calling attention to seven reasons given under the Obligation for Service why social service is a legitimate duty of the newspaper:

1. Every individual owes service to the community in which he lives.
2. An editor is under special obligation to do more than anyone else because the newspaper offers an amazing opportunity to translate ideals into practice.
3. In a sense, the newspaper is not the editor's but the property of the community.
4. Community service pays.
5. Service activities give character and distinction to a newspaper.
6. Notable service to the community will give the editor a place in history.
7. Service in itself is noble.

To these arguments, Professor Radder adds: "The editor has the organ of publicity at his command and can use the priceless device of reiteration. He knows the town, its conditions and its people better than anybody else. He is in a place for leadership."

Then ask your man to read Ten Tests of a Town (p. 217) a kind of community score card made up by L. N. Flint of The University of Kansas. Put before him the hints on Constructive Charity and underscore the wise sentences: "Helpful charity is difficult to administer. Only trained charity workers should do relief work." And point out how the great New York Times gets advice from charity agencies to distribute its fund of some $250,000 for the Hundred Neediest Cases. Your editor will be rarin' to go by this time, and will devour the rest of the book and learn—

How the Middletown, Ohio, Journal organized the whole social work of the town, raised $1,000,000 (population 25,000) built a central building, and turned the Chamber of Commerce into a civic association.

How the New York World ended the leasing of convicts in Florida in forty-seven days.

How Colonel Nelson's Star gave Kansas City its glorious park system.

How La Prensa of Argentina leads the world in the extent of its constructive service to the community, with its free medical-surgical bureau, a chemical, industrial and agricultural bureau, free legal aid, free music lessons, a free library, three large rooms for public meetings.

How the La Moure County Chronicle (North Dakota) rejuvenated that little village where grass had actually begun to grow in the streets.

How the Grand Rapids Press held the first anti-tuberculosis meeting in its own building, a reporter as secretary.

Etc., etc., etc. Really you *must* read this book before you complain of the papers—or seek to use them.

NEWSPAPERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE, *by Norman J. Radder. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 269 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Extra help for an easier washday! Good soap and plenty of dirt-loosening naptha work together in Fels-Naptha.

Quick, safe, thorough help! *Extra* help you can get only in Fels-Naptha!

Your dealer has Fels-Naptha—
or will get it for you

"MODERN HOME EQUIPMENT"

Our new booklet is a carefully selected list of the practical equipment needed in an average-sized home. It is invaluable, alike to new and to experienced housekeepers—already in its fourth edition. It considers in turn the kitchen, pantry, dining room, general cleaning equipment and the laundry, and gives the price of each article mentioned.

Ask for Booklet S—it will be sent postpaid.

LEWIS & CONGER
45th Street and Sixth Avenue, New York City

Hospitals and Institutions

in layout and plans should give expression to the latest medical and social practice.

Advice on plans and operating problems made available through

HOSPITAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BUREAU OF CONSULTATION
HENRY C. WRIGHT, Director
289 Fourth Avenue, New York City

STUDY OF VOLUME AND COST OF SOCIAL WORK
Tabulation of Income for Nineteen Cities with Introduction and Illustrative Charts. An Attempt under the Auspices of the American Association for Community Organization and the Welfare Federation of Cleveland to "See Social Work Whole" as a Basis for Sound Community Planning. 72 pg. paper. $1.50 Post Paid
RAYMOND CLAPP, 513 Electric Building, Cleveland, Ohio

(In answering advertisements please mention THE SURVEY. *It helps us, it identifies you.)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America's Great Unknown Woman

Read Her Story In

GRACE H. DODGE: MERCHANT OF DREAMS

By ABBIE GRAHAM $2.00

"I have read the book with the deepest interest and believe that it is one of the best contributions of biography to the subject of stewardship that has been produced. I suspect that there are not many lives that will illustrate practical stewardship of time, personality and money as her life does."

Dr. Harry S. Myers
Northern Baptist Convention.

THE WOMANS PRESS
600 Lexington Avenue
New York

American Labor Year Book 1926

568 pages :: Octavo :: Cloth Bound

"The Handbook of the Labor Movement"

Price, $3.15, postpaid

RAND BOOK STORE
9 EAST 15th ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.

READ
"Growing up with a city"
By
LOUISE DE KOVEN BOWEN

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
For sale at all book stores

EDITORIALS

(*Continued from page* 429)

study, Thomas Adams, when he pointed out that congestion in Manhattan was strangling the vital pulse of the whole region; that congestion was, in other words, a means of destroying the advantages of concentration; and that a much larger population could be accommodated in the metropolitan region without congestion if a species of decentralization of industry were accomplished. He said:

> Decentralization of population as a solution of congestion has proved a fallacy. You cannot correct congestion and you may increase it by more transit lines and more commuting suburbs. Industry must be evenly distributed as well as population.

The centralization of industry on Manhattan Island had, he believed, reached its peak ten years ago: the future might well see a return of population to the island, to bring workers in the offices and enterprises which must needs be centrally located closer to their work, while the industries which would do as well or better further from the center of population move out along with their workers.

Meanwhile Edward M. Bassett brought word of a definite legislative advance in the passage by the New York Legislature of laws making it possible for a properly constituted planning authority to secure the full support of the local law-making body in enforcing its plans (subject to court review) against the whim of sundry citizens who have hitherto been free to make an official map something of a joke by building where they pleased.

Other groups to which the New York committee may well listen include the New York State Commission of Regional Planning and Housing, which has gone steadily about its business of accumulating data on the aspects of regional planning which are often forgotten in local projects: the interrelation of cities and their hinterland; the economic strength and weakness of the super-city; the effect of seeing geographic and economic areas whole instead of exploiting them piecemeal. An interesting recent by-product of its investigations is the report released in March showing how the piling up of cities increases the per capita cost of governmental services.

The City Housing Corporation, too, has in its second annual report, made public in May, contributed valuable experience to the forum of discussion on housing. By the end of this summer 650 families will have been comfortably housed in its Sunnyside development: the building plans of 1926 and 1927 will complete the first major project and will bring the total of families provided for in these attractive and economical garden houses and apartments up to 1,200 or more. After another experimental tract has been built up the corporation may be in position to carry through its cherished plan for setting up a bona fide garden city. This year's operations have not only included the opening and equipping of a two-and-one-half acre park, dedicated to the permanent use of Sunnyside residents through the vesting of title in the New York Community Trust, but have proved the financial soundness of the plan by rolling up a surplus of $170,000 in addition to the stated dividends on capital invested. From hard-headed experimentation such as this New York's surveyors and planners, and those of other cities, should learn much.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF COAL

(*Continued from page 425*)

reduction. America would be in a still worse position because of longer freight hauls which means she must get the price f.o.b. down and this she would undoubtedly do through a policy of cutting wages.

Employers have admitted that the coal market is limited and wage reduction has been their idea of the way to meet the situation. We miners plead for the element of stability to be brought into commerce. This we believe could best be brought about through the organization of a Joint Board of International Control to be composed of representatives of the governments of the different coal exporting countries, of the coal owners, the workers and the consumers. Thus the element of stability might be maintained without engaging in international conflict as is now the case.

All this needs organized effort. The suggestion is not without precedent. Look at the control of rubber and tea, cotton and metals. These of course have been regulated for the benefit of those engaged in the trade. In the cases of cotton, tea and rubber, where plantations can be reduced by agreement, output has been deliberately controlled to produce a shortage. What we have in mind, however, should commend itself to the governments as they, represented on the Joint Board, could not give their approval to anything that would create a shortage deliberately to send up prices. It is of course essential to have consumers and workers as well as the governments and employers represented on the board in order that international control may not be anti-social.

Asked whether or not he believed the League of Nations could bring about the organization of such a Board of Control, Mr. Hodges said he believed not because "certain coal exporting countries are not members of it." On the other hand he thought the League could be helpful in bringing the proposals to the attention of the League member governments thus creating discussion.

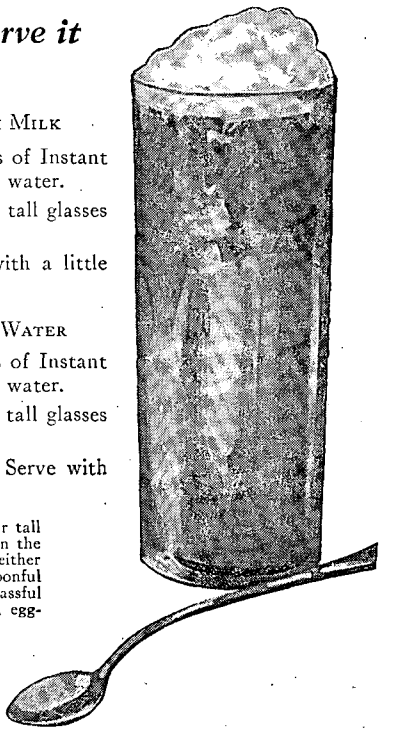
LATE last summer German and British employers in the coal industry approached each other regarding some sort of an international agreement. Just what form negotiations took has not been divulged. It is supposed that individuals as individuals met individuals. German anthracite operators, through the Coal Syndicate of the Ruhr, are so organized as to have facilities for carrying on such negotiations. British operators, however, organized only through the Coal Mining Association of Great Britain, a loose form of federation, have no adequate facilities for the control of export. The immediate cause of the conversations was the German threat to prohibit the import of British coal at Hamburg, where on account of the difference between water and rail rates, British coal can be laid down cheaper than coal from the Ruhr. But evidently these overtures served only to emphasize difficulties.

Then came the full effect of the British coal subsidy which lowered prices in the foreign market. And Germany was unable to compete. British exports to Germany doubled. In South Germany a bounty, expiring September 30 of this year, was granted by the Coal Syndicate to enable producers to compete with the British import. At the same time Germany has been reorganizing her industry, shutting down unprofitable mines. Unemployment has increased. With the period of adjusting production to consumption not completed she feels that her home market must be secured and foreign coal excluded. Just previous to the calling of

Out of America's great hotels came this wonderful drink

ICED POSTUM

You can easily serve it at home



ICED POSTUM MADE WITH MILK

Dissolve 8 level teaspoonfuls of Instant Postum in half a cup of boiling water.

Mix with three and one-half tall glasses of cold milk.

Sugar to taste, and serve with a little cracked ice.

ICED POSTUM MADE WITH WATER

Dissolve 8 level teaspoonfuls of Instant Postum in half a cup of boiling water.

Mix with three and one-half tall glasses of cold water.

Sugar to taste, and cream. Serve with cracked ice.

This is a sufficient quantity for four tall glasses. More, or less, may be made in the same proportions. The attractiveness of either drink is increased by putting a tablespoonful of whipped cream on the top of each glassful —or beating into the drink, with an egg-beater, a heaping tablespoonful of vanilla ice cream for each glassful. If ice cream is used, no cracked ice is needed.

• • •

YOU crave a new summertime treat! Here it is—a drink that is different and delightful.

You can drink all the Iced Postum you want. Postum is made of whole wheat and bran, roasted to bring out the full, rich flavor. There isn't a trace of caffein or any other artificial stimulant in it. Prepared in the usual way, with water, it is as wholesome a drink as you could want—and combined with milk, it is a wonderful body builder. Children, too, will gain from the milk-drink a wealth of growth-promoting nourishment.

Serve Iced Postum at dinner tonight, and listen to the family's praise of your discovery! You'll find Instant Postum at your grocer's.

If you would prefer to try this new summertime drink at our expense, accept the offer of Carrie Blanchard, famous food demonstrator.

Carrie Blanchard's Offer

"I want you to make a thirty-day test of Postum. I will send you one week's supply, to start the test, and my own directions for preparing it—both iced and hot.

"Postum costs much less than most other meal-time drinks—only one-half cent a cup. For one week's free supply, please indicate whether you prefer Instant Postum (prepared instantly in the cup), or Postum Cereal, the kind you boil."

© 1926, P. C. Co.

Postum is one of the Post Health Products, which include also Grape-Nuts, Post Toasties (Double-thick Corn Flakes), Post's Bran Flakes and Post's Bran Chocolate. Your grocer sells Postum in two forms. Instant Postum, made in the cup by adding boiling water, is one of the easiest drinks in the world to prepare. Postum Cereal is also easy to make, but should be boiled 20 minutes.

MAIL THIS COUPON NOW!

P.—S. 7-26

POSTUM CEREAL CO., Inc., Battle Creek, Mich.
I want to make a 30-day test of Postum. Please send me, without cost or obligation, one week's supply of

INSTANT POSTUM . . . . . ☐ *Check*
(prepared instantly in the cup) *which you*
POSTUM CEREAL . . . . . ☐ *prefer*
(prepared by boiling

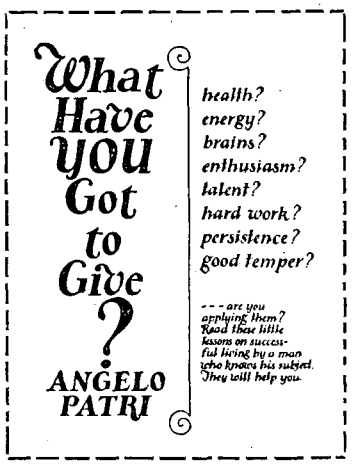
Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....

In Canada, address CANADIAN POSTUM CEREAL CO., Ltd., 45 Front St. East, Toronto 2, Ontario

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Angelo Patri's

new book

WHAT HAVE YOU GOT TO GIVE ?

At all bookstores $2.00

Doubleday, Page & Co.

Country Life for Children

A modern boarding school for boys and girls from 6 to 12. Emphasis on self-directed creative activity. On the outskirts of an unspoiled New England village 100 miles from New York, 1100 feet above sea level. Sixty acres of orchard, pasture and woodland make a far better laboratory for a child to experiment in than a five-room flat.

Circular on request

SPRING HILL Mrs. William Spinney
Miss Dorothy Bull

Litchfield, Connecticut

To Fill Our Cup of Happiness

We and our patients only need to place upon a splendid lofty site among Westchester hills a simple phalanx of Spanish Mission quarters—a home for 100 cancerous poor; admirable in strength, health-devices and sensible conveniences, at the lowest cost consistent with wisdom, in place of an old wooden building inhabited by us for 25 years. Our patients who are of all creeds and nationalities, pay nothing because their pockets are empty, and we are the connecting link with their friends among the public. Give us this fireproof Home!

TOTAL RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF FUND

From December 31, 1921, to December 31, 1925.

RECEIPTS FOR 4 YEARS—since Fund began—		
Donations	$283,242.93	
Bank interest	5,277.25	
Promised to Fund	10,000.00	
		$298,520.18
EXPENSES FOR 4 YEARS—		
Advertising	$28,183.37	
Lots	6,915.66	
Road, trench work, excavating, labor and material on Fireproof Annex, put up for safety of sickest patients	85,663.66	
Electric Power Plant for Lighting and Well and Laundry Machinery	4,215.12	
Furnishing of Annex	6,972.74	
Accident Insurance	988.02	
Covered Passageway between old Home and Annex, 200 feet long	7,460.86	
Plans, Architect's Fee, Survey	1,792.00	
Electric Well Installation	4,398.90	
Plants and Trees	466.65	
Expense in connection with lecture given to Fund by Jas. J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D.	866.88	
		$147,923.86
Balance in Fund January 1, 1926		$150,596.32

The Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer

HAWTHORNE, WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y.

MOTHER M. ALPHONSA LATHROP, O. S. D., Treasurer

the British strike German operators again visited English owners. Following their visit, Sir Alfred Mond made public a statement that he "had reason to believe that Germany would not be unwilling to discuss the stability of coal prices," without which it would be impossible to settle such questions as wages and hours. This statement was followed in May by the announcement in the press of the coming conference of representatives of the European coal industry "to discuss ending cut-throat competition in the coal markers." The purpose of the conference was said to be first, to bring about an understanding covering all Europe; and, second, the creation of an international coal syndicate on the model of that in Germany.

Meanwhile the International Labor Office in response to a request of the International Federation of Miners has been cooperating in the effort to standardize statistical methods of record-keeping in various countries that comparison of hours and wages and living costs may be more readily and accurately interpreted. This is a long step toward the standardization of working conditions among miners on an international basis.

Except for the fact that her miners are represented on the Miners' International Committee, America stands aloof. Coal export seems today not to be involved in her problem of overproduction. When and how she will be drawn in is a matter for speculation.

ENGLAND EMERGES

(*Continued from page* 410)

panic into which the T.U.C. leaders were thrown on the day before they went to the prime minister to capitulate. They were, quite properly, afraid lest the strikers should be seen drifting back in large numbers, and this despite the steadiness of the main body to which all observers bore witness. They took very seriously the prime minister's repeated declaration that negotiations could only be resumed after the general strike had been called off. I do not think they were influenced by the arguments of Liberal lawyers as to the illegality of the strike and the liability of the responsible leaders to civil action in the courts, or by a judicial decision obtained by certain members of the Seamen's Union at the critical moment. But there can be no doubt at all that they were gravely disturbed by the knowledge that the Prime minister was being pressed by the Diehards to arrest the members of the general council, to confiscate the funds of the unions involved, and to demand from Parliament the repeal of the Trades Disputes Act by which the unions are protected.

Unquestionably, also, the T.U.C. was troubled by the success with which the government had exploited the constitutional issue. The prime minister, the liberal leaders (but not, is is important to note, Lloyd George, the various radio voices, and others had reiterated the charge that the strike was a revolutionary affair, a challenge to the Constitution and to parliamentary government. The T.U.C., on the other hand, and the parliamentary labor leaders repeated daily that it was a purely industrial struggle, having nothing whatever to do with any revolutionary idea or policy. They were, nevertheless, conscious of the difficulty or irregularity of their own position, and aware that the Left Wing was ready enough to insist upon the strike as a necessary challenge to the parliamentary system. Moreover, the T.U.C. would seem to have been suffering from the fear that the direction of the strike might pass to the extremists and thereby become revolutionary—though where the revolution was, or who in the labor movement could conceivably lead it, was a question that they can hardly have put seriously to one another.

IN the meantime two other, quite separate, influences had been at work. Sir Herbert Samuel, chairman of the Coal Commission, appeared upon the scene with an offer to the miners of personal and unofficial mediation—at the instance of the prime minister himself. He had drawn up a memorandum of terms about which he made no promises but which the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

miners and the T.U.C. were persuaded were terms that the prime minister would treat as the basis of a peace settlement. The second influence was that of the church leaders, headed by the archbishop of Canterbury, who had made an earnest appeal for a resumption of peace efforts. The national effect of this message was greatly enhanced by the folly of the Churchill party, who had kept it off the radio and tried to keep it out of the British Gazette. Its effect throughout the country was such that the T.U.C. was fully justified in thinking that the prime minister's well-known conciliatory spirit would receive the strongest public backing and might be relied upon in the settlement.

However these things may be, the surrender was made on May 12. When the verbatim report of the interviews appeared, it was seen that Pugh and Thomas and Bevin had made no effort whatever to secure conditions and had asked for no pledges. If they believed that the Samuel memorandum amounted to the basis of an understanding, it was perfectly evident that the prime minister regarded himself as wholly uncommitted. The next day the British press led a chorus of whoops, and thereafter, on the government side, no one seemed able to refer to the end of the strike without rubbing in the "unconditional surrender." One result was immediately apparent among the employers. The assumption was that the victory was absolute, and consequently that the unions were helpless and might be stamped upon. Mr. Baldwin appealed for goodwill, for forbearance and cooperation; but even as he was speaking in Parliament the railways and other concerns were taking the first steps towards a policy of reprisals. The calculation as to the extent of the victory was at once seen to be mistaken. The solidarity held. Complete reinstatement was seen to be impossible; victimization cannot be avoided; but the drive towards reduced wages for railroad men and transport workers was abandoned.

THERE has been, and at the time of writing still is, a tremendous controversy as to the action of the T.U.C. and especially the tactics of the last twenty-four hours. The surrender was decided upon without consultation with the miners; and one singular and unfortunate circumstance is that no miners representative had a seat upon the General Council of the T.U.C., to which full powers had been entrusted. When, on the morning of the 12th, the T.U.C. met the miners with the plea that they should accept the Samuel memorandum, the general strike was virtually called off, and the miners did not know it. A. J. Cook, a few days later, made a speech in which, with somewhat shattering candor, he told the story of the break-up, complaining that he had never been abused by capitalist or politician as he had been by the T.U.C. The fact was probably not overstated, but the matter has two sides. The miners are a peculiar folk. Their life is separate and unique. Their state of mind and feeling is a condition by itself. Largely by reasoning this they tend to be inflexible, and are difficult to deal with in bargaining. Their fellow trade unionists know little about them. A miner is an almost unknown being in the south of England. And A. J. Cook or Herbert Smith has next to nothing in common with a J. H. Thomas, or even with an Ernest Bevin. The evidence of this on May 12 was clamorous; and the strike was ended with a deep conviction on the part of the miners that they had been betrayed.

All this brings us back to the question of Sunday night. Was peace then within sight? If the diehards had not forced the hand of the prime minister, would the formula of compromise have been accepted by the miners? The later evidence, apart from Mr. Cook's speeches, implies that it would not, and this view is supported by the hostility of the miners to the Samuel memorandum, the validity of which they were clearly right in impugning. During the fatal week-end, undoubtedly, there was a strong suspicion that the General Council would break as the Triple Alliance broke five years ago. And if the celebrated formula had been permitted a free run on Sunday night, the general strike might well have been proved an impossibility. Mr. Baldwin's overthrow by the conservative diehards was thus the decisive event—for MacDonald and Thomas, as for all the others.

Let Your Dollars SERVE as Well as EARN

TODAY there is an opportunity unique in the investment field. Safety of principal and a steady income are assured, and at the same time you can have the satisfaction of knowing that your money will be used over and over again in building homes, without speculative profit, for people of moderate incomes.

The City Housing Corporation has been operating for two years now as a limited dividend company actively engaged in building better homes and communities. Already garden homes for six hundred families have been built and sold at Sunnyside, Long Island City. The cost of ownership—between $9 and $11 per room per month—is actually less than the usual rental of dark rooms in the city.

Operations of the Corporation are financed through the sale of 6% cumulative common stock. The erection of houses for three hundred more families is about to commence. Every purchaser of a share of stock at $100 helps to increase the extent of the operations of the Company by just that much.

Earnings from operations have put City Housing Corporation stock on an investment basis. The Corporation has paid 6% dividends from the beginning, and on January 1st, 1926, it had a surplus of over $170,000.

We offer this stock as a safe and useful investment for your July funds. For further information write City Housing Corporation, 587 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or send in the coupon below.

CITY HOUSING CORPORATION

A limited dividend company—
Organized to build better homes and communities

Authorized capital, $5,000,000
in shares of $100 each.

Directors: Alexander M. Bing, *President; Dr.* Felix Adler, John G. Agar, Leo S. Bing, Charles S. Bird, Jr., William Sloane Coffin, Thomas C. Desmond, Douglas L. Elliman, Prof. Richard T. Ely, Arthur Lehman, Frank Lord, V. Everit Macy, John Martin, Mrs. Joseph M. Proskauer, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert E. Simon.

CITY HOUSING CORPORATION,
587 Fifth Avenue, New York City. SC-7

Please send me descriptive literature.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

School of Social Work
SIMMONS COLLEGE

Graduate Courses in:

Work with Children
Family Welfare
Medical Social Service
Psychiatric Social Work
Community Work

Courses leading to a certificate for those who are not college graduates who have had some experience and wish to get professional training.

Address
THE DIRECTOR
18 Somerset Street, Boston, 14 Massachusetts

THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
Social Economics
COURSES OFFERED

Family Case Work, Psychology applied to Child and Family Welfare, Psychobiological Problems Associated with Individual Personal Adjustment, Public Health, Social Medicine, Community Problems and Organization, Social Law, Immigrant Peoples, Nutrition, Social Legislation, Delinquency and Probation, Social Statistics, Influence of Pioneers of Social Work.

Field work training under professional executives.

Psychiatric and General Medical Social Service training given in conjunction with the Social Service Department of The Johns Hopkins Hospital.

College graduates eligible for M.A. degree after completing the two years course.

For circulars address
MISS THEO JACOBS
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

NURSERY SCHOOL DIRECTORS TRAINED
CLEVELAND KINDERGARTEN—PRIMARY TRAINING SCHOOL

Two year course for teachers of kindergarten and the first three grades.

One year course preparing directors of Nursery School. Open to Normal School or College Graduates. Contacts with Behavior Clinic, Hospital and different types of Nursery Schools.

Attractive Dormitories. State and University Credits

Address MAY HILL—Principal.
2050 East 96 Street, Cleveland, Ohio

RECREATION TRAINING SCHOOL OF CHICAGO
Professional training for group leadership and recreation. Technical classes in dramatics, acting and coaching, games, folk dancing, story telling, art, handcraft, athletics and gymnastics. Theoretical and lecture courses. One and two year courses. Summer term.
Write for catalogs
Recreation Training School of Chicago
800 South Halsted Street (Hull-House)

I MUST omit a number of highly important questions, some of which are discussed by other writers in this number. I must omit, even, so all-important a matter as the convictions of the T.U.C. and parliamentary leaders upon the general strike as a policy and weapon, and so remarkable a fact as the complete absence in the strike of any dominant personality; and I must end this summary with a few very rough and condensed statements upon certain points of general interest.

1. I suggest that many of the statements and conclusions repeated in various quarters as though they are truths demonstrated in regard to Britain and the general strike are exceedingly doubtful. The strike of May was called by men who had no belief in it as either policy or weapon. Hence the generalship was inherently feeble, and the end inevitable. The most impressive and significant feature was the evidence of working-class solidarity. It is a newly revealed and momentous fact of contemporary England.

2. The deduction, emphatically drawn by Clifford Sharp, the very able editor of The New Statesman, that our experience shows that the policy of the general strike can only be carried out through violence, appears to me erroneous. The specific motive for this strike was a resolve to improve the wretched plight of the miners. The preparation was almost non-existent, the education miserably incomplete. Even so, the display of promptness and discipline was extraordinary; and the strike, insofar as it may be said to have succeeded, succeeded by reason of its order and restraint—those features of the English character which astound the world. I could imagine an occasion when the issue was sharper, the grievance more widespread, the leadership more definite and imaginative: an occasion which might provoke, not a violent, but a British proletarian uprising, capable of being expressed in a general movement of passive resistance. I think we are inclined to miss the full moral of the nine days wonder. When all is said, it lies in the public behavior of the working people.

3. The conclusion most generally drawn among men and women active in the labor movement, so far as I have tested them, is that the failure of the strike must bring a fresh accession of strength to the political wing. Year by year, it is said, the parlamentary labor leaders have been told that there is no power in the political weapon: the industrial weapon alone is valid for securing the political changes that the new commonwealth will demand. Now the swing has come; the breaking of the industrial weapon must be followed by a great increasing strength in the political movement. I hope it may be so. That seems to me the natural and wholesome course for affairs to take in England. But I wonder what likelihood there is of this development, and in what measure the mass of the industrial population can be won back to faith in Parliament and political democracy?

COAL: THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM

(*Continued from page* 422)

and the inability or unwillingness of the mine owners to eradicate its defects and adapt their methods and organization to modern needs. Secondly, the repeated efforts made by the mine owners to saddle the results of their shortsightedness and incapacity upon the miners in the shape of a longer working day and low wage rates. Thirdly, the evasion by successive Governments of the responsibilities involved in their intervention in the affairs of the industry.

There have been seven years of struggle in the mining industry, and the struggle is not yet over. The end of it must either be disaster for the industry and its workers or a courageous comprehensive plan based upon science and experience which will transform a semi-derelict industry into one of the chief foundations of national prosperity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE *Announcement of Courses* will be helpful in mapping out a program of study and training for a responsible position in social work. A copy will be sent free upon request. The Fall Quarter begins October fourth.

The New York School of Social Work
107 East Twenty-Second Street
New York

SUMMER COURSES IN JEWISH SOCIAL WORK

THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK announces the opening of summer institutes for Social Workers in addition to its regular course of fifteen months graduate study in preparation for Jewish social work.

The following courses will be given in the Summer of 1926:

Social and Religious Institutions of the Jews .....M. M. Kaplan
History of Early Jewish Community Life....L. L. Honor
Modern Jewish History.....I. B. Berkson
The Field of Jewish Social Service in the U. S. .....M. J. Karpf
Aims and Methods of Contemporary Jewish Social Service.....S. A. Goldsmith
Administration of Jewish Family Case Work Agencies.....M. J. Karpf
Administration of Jewish Centers.....H. L. Glucksman
Administration of Jewish Federations..M. D. Waldman
Yiddish Language and Literature.....M. Soltes
Problems of Jewish Adjustment to American Life.....M. M. Kaplan
Post War Problems of the Jews.....I. B. Berkson

Write for a Summer Bulletin

THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK
(Initiated by the National Conference of Jewish Social Service)
210 West 91st Street, New York City

The New York Post-Graduate Medical School

offers

COURSES

to

Graduates in Medicine

For information address

THE DEAN, 308 East Twentieth Street
New York City

YALE UNIVERSITY

School of Nursing

offers a twenty-eight months course in nursing leading to the degree of Bachelor of Nursing for students who present two or more years of approved college work. Intensive graduate courses are offered in pediatrics and the various branches of medical and surgical nursing. The facilities for instruction include the Yale School of Medicine, the Graduate School, the New Haven Hospital, the University Clinic, and the New Haven Visiting Nurse Service.

Full information may be obtained through the Dean, Yale University School of Nursing, 330 Cedar Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE—President, Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Objects: To educate American people in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation; to establish centers where married persons may receive contraceptive advice from duly licensed physicians. Life membership $1.00; Birth Control Review (monthly magazine) $2.00 per year.

AMERICAN CHILD HEALTH ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. Herbert Hoover, President; Philip Van Ingen, M.D., Secretary, S. J. Crumbine, M.D., General Executive. Objects: Sound promotion of child health, especially in cooperation with the official health and education agencies.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION—K. L. Butterfield, president; Henry Israel, executive secretary. Room 1849, Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City. Emphasizes the human aspect of country life. Annual membership $5.00 includes "Rural America" (monthly bulletin) and Annual Conference Proceedings.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE HARD OF HEARING—Promotes the cause of the hard of hearing; assists in forming organizations. Pres., Dr. Gordon Berry; Field Secretary, Miss Betty Wright, 1601 35th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—Alice L. Edwards, executive secretary, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C. Organized for betterment of conditions in home, school, institution and community. Publishes monthly Journal of Home Economics: office of editor, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C.; of business manager, 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Dr. George A. Soper, managing director, 25 West 43rd Street, New York. To collect, collate and disseminate information concerning the symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. To promote a better understanding of the social hygiene movement; to advance sound sex education, to combat prostitution and sex delinquency; to aid public authorities in the campaign against the venereal diseases; to advise in organization of state and local social-hygiene programs. Annual membership dues $2.00 including monthly journal.

CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, Inc.—730 Fifth Avenue, New York. Telephone: Circle 9623. To secure Mothers Allowance laws in states now having no such provisions; to promote desirable amendments to existing Mothers Allowance laws, to harmonize them with the maximum necessary protection of dependent children; to secure proper laws affecting adoption, boarding out and placing out of dependent children so far as possible to secure home life for normal children in preference to sending them to institutions; to aid in the enforcement of Mothers Pension and kindred laws. States Council of Child Welfare Committee of America comprises representatives of practically every state. Committee publishes digest of laws and educational material on Mothers Pension and kindred topics. Invites requests from responsible public and private organizations for aid in Mothers Pension problems. Sophie Irene Loeb, President; Governor Alfred E. Smith, Honorary Chairman; Margaret Woodrow Wilson, First Vice-President; Edward F. Brown, Executive Secretary.

COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS—156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Composed of 20 Protestant national women's mission boards. Florence E. Quinlan, Executive Secretary.
Work among Farm and Cannery Migrants, Summer service for college students, Laura H. Parker, Executive Supervisor.
Bureau of Reference for Migrating People, follow-up of New Americans, Raymond E. Cole, Executive.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA—Constituted by 28 Protestant communions. Rev. C. S. Macfarland and Rev. S. M. Cavert, Gen. Sec's; 105 E. 22nd St., N. Y. C.
Dept. of Research and Education, Rev. F. E. Johnson, Secy.
Commissions: Church and Social Service, Rev. W. M. Tippy, Secy;
International Justice and Goodwill: Fev. S. L. Gulick, Sec'y;
Church and Race Relations: Dr. G. E. Haynes, Sec'y.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE—Trains Negro and Indian youth for community service. Advanced courses: agriculture, builders, business, home-economics, normal. Publishes "Southern Workman" and free material on Negro problems. J. E. Gregg, principal.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SERVICE—To assemble data on international social problems and through work with individual cases to develop methods of international social service. Headquarters, 10 Rue La Bourne, Geneva, Switzerland. Viscountess Gladstone, chairman; Professor Gilbert Murray, treasurer; Ruth Larned, executive. Address all inquiries to American Bureau, One Madison Avenue, New York City. Director, Mary E. Hurlbutt.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY—Graham Romeyn Taylor, executive director, 50 East 42nd Street, New York. To promote the adoption of sound methods in this field, with particular reference to psychiatric clinics, visiting teacher work, and training for these and similar services; to conduct related studies, education and publication; and to interpret the work of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Mabel Cratty, general secretary, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries to cover work in the United States in 1,034 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, Colored and younger girls. It has 159 American secretaries at work in 49 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. Industrial, agricultural investigators. Works for improved laws and administration, children's codes. Studies child labor, health, schools, recreation, dependency, delinquency, etc. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC. (est. 1918, incorp. 1914), 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. (tel. Chelsea 8774). Promotes as its chief object the building of character in the children of America through the harmonious development of their bodies, minds, and spirits. Its method is, in co-operation with other organizations, to originate and disseminate educational material in the form of posters, books, bulletins, charts, slides, and insignia. Through its "Knighthood of Youth" it provides homes, schools and church schools with a method of character training through actual practice. Officers: Dr. John H. Finley, Pres.; Amos L. Prescott, Treas.; Charles F. Powlison, Gen. Sec'y.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.—Dr. William H. Welch, honorary president; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, president; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, secretary; 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, mental and nervous disorders, feeblemindedness, epilepsy, inebriety, delinquency, and other mental problems in human behavior, education, industry, psychiatric social service, etc. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $3.00 a year; "Mental Hygiene Bulletin," monthly, $ .50 a year.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Lewis H. Carris, managing director; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, associate director; Dr. B. Franklin Royer, medical director, and Miss Eleanor P. Brown, secretary; 370 Seventh Ave., New York. Objects: To furnish information, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, personal service for local organizations and legislation, publish literature of movement—samples free, quantities at cost. Includes New York State Committee.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—John A. Lapp, president, Chicago, Ill.; Howard R. Knight, secretary, 277 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio. The conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Conference will be held in Des Moines, Iowa, Spring, 1927. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF GIRLS' CLUBS—Mrs. Fannie M. Pollak, president; Mary L. Ely, Educational Secretary. Non-sectarian and self-governing organization of working women's clubs for recreation and promotion of program in Adult Education. Vacation Camps. 472 West 24th St., New York City.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE—For social service among Negroes. L. Hollingsworth Wood, pres.; Eugene Kinckle Jones, exec. sec'y; 127 E. 23rd St., New York. Establishes committees of white and colored people to work out community problems. Trains Negro social workers. Publishes "Opportunity"—a "journal of Negro life."

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Anna A. Gordon, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the departments of Child Welfare, Women in Industry, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Americanization and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. Special attention given to organization of year-round municipal recreation systems. Information available on playground and community center activities and administration.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SURVEY'S DIRECTORY

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22d St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization, Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Social Legislation, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, prin.; Warren Logan, treas.; A. L. Holsey, acting sec'y, Tuskegee, Ala.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA—Spencer Miller, Jr., sec'y; 476 West 24th St. A clearing-house for Workers Education.

SPEAKERS: We assist in preparing special articles, papers, speeches debates. Expert scholarly service. AUTHOR'S RESEARCH BUREAU. 500 Fifth Avenue, New York.

HOUSES SUPPLYING INSTITUTIONAL TRADE

Dry Goods
FREDERICK LOESER & CO.
484 Fulton Street **Brooklyn, N. Y.**

Groceries
SEEMAN BROS.
Hudson and North Moore Streets **New York**

Electric Clock System
LOCKWOOD & ALMQUIST, Inc.
501 Fifth Avenue **New York City**

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL AGENCIES
NEW YORK
Describes 2000 agencies—lists 1800 churches—5000 names of officers and workers—500 pp. cloth, $2.00 postpaid.
34th edition (1925)
CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY
105 East 22nd Street New York City

PLUS-FOURS TO THE RESCUE

(*Continued from page* 415)

It was a case of "a good time was had by all." Not only was bed and board furnished—24,000 hot meals in five days—but smokes, and the men were given a free hand to spend all the money they wanted on entertainment. They had concerts, cinemas, dances, a radio; and peers, members of parliament, merchants, bankers, undergraduates, clerks (clarks), some of whom learned the trick of managing a bus in an hour in the company's training school, others in several days, risked whatever hoodlums might do to them daytimes and unbent, English fashion (whatever that is), nights. They were a gallant, informally garbed, helpful outfit, and the public held and holds them dear. What if they sometimes lost their buses up unfamiliar highways and General fared in early May where Generals had never fared before? (It is said they did it on purpose now and then to accommodate old ladies.) They were part of that English public whose good humor never failed and as far as statistics show they killed no one.

The 5,000 underground volunteers were also bedded and boarded and entertained, in six depots. An official said that of the 2,000 operating volunteers, many of them ex-flying men, not one took longer than a day to learn to run a tube train. Now and then to be sure there was a hitch in tube efficiency—a sudden halt in a tunnel, an "I say, I pressed something wrong. How do you start the darn thing? Where are those regulations?" Now and then in an absent-minded moment a passenger was landed at an underground station which turned out to be locked and deserted for the period of the strike. But always on the part of volunteers and public rare good temper.

"Does this train go to Highgate?" asks a slightly uneasy elderly lady.

"God knows, madam, but get in anyway. Every little helps!"

ON the first day of the strike the government posted its notices of a state of emergency and called for volunteers, and all day thousands queued into the court of the Foreign Office Building, anxious to be called upon to help save the country. In London some 150,000 volunteered, of which number 6,000 were placed.

"Have you any classification," I timidly asked a government official, "to show from what walks of life the volunteers came, what sort of jobs you directed them to?"

"That's like an American," the official smiled. "You'd like to have one day after the strike is over the information we'll have ready to give out in about a year!"

Throughout the country half a million volunteered, more signing up daily; 50,000 were placed. It has been reckoned that altogether 5,000,000 workers were idle due to the strike. In addition to the unclassified volunteers there were enrolled in London 50,000 special constables in addition to 10,000 who had registered before the strike was called.

Just what strategic role the special constable played, besides showing that his heart was in the right place, is difficult to say. Freshly shaved young men and older, mostly in sport clothes with the official blue and white arm band, walked the streets—ready to protect the country against Revolution. Maybe the special constable feels it was his four-hour-shift presence which kept Anarchy at bay. Now and then an eager young Special gave himself the thrill of sauntering down the way in the company of a uniformed six-foot Regular. The Special looked the way a small boy feels when he thinks of himself as a policeman. The Regular looked bored to death. But their hearts *were* in the right place and the government gave the patriotic urge that harmless outlet—at least in the hands of an Englishman it proved harmless—as it gives the unshaven radical his harmless outlet shouting again creation of a Sunday in Hyde Park. Liverpool, with a far more delicate problem of law and order to handle than London, got along without enrolling a single special constable.

In our well-to-do borough of Hampstead in London, inhabited mostly by what communist brethren would refer to as the useless scum of the bourgeoisie, total enrollments numbered 4,081 (one could say with assurance probably all "ladies and gentlemen") of whom over a thousand were placed. Hampstead got in early touch with the London, Midland and Southern Railway and were the first to supply them with lorry drivers and motor mechanics, 240 in all. The Transport Department had 48 private cars at its service besides many lorries. Any job was undertaken, from driving a sick baby to a nursing home to moving four tons of coal urgently required by an institution. Eleven volunteer dispatch riders covered 4,200 miles. Twenty-four bicycles were ready on call. The committee organized a complete system for bringing the slim, scarcely visable—but now eagerly read!—morning papers into Hampstead for the news dealers to deliver to subscribers, a matter of dispatching volunteer lorries daily at three A.M. Then there was a canteen organized for the civil constabulary and volunteer bus drivers—passing through Camden Town on the way to Hampstead was considerable of a strain and a bit of refreshment before or after helped. Hampstead is a good walk from London proper—one to two hours. At the Town Hall until the tube was working every private car was stopped by a volunteer if there was an empty corner inside or out, and waiting autoless citizens were carried into town. Some statistical wizard figured out that 86 per cent of the residents of the borough whose employment was in the city or West End were thus able to get transport to their offices.

As in the war, there were those on both sides sorry to see the strike over for purely detached reasons—they hadn't begun to show what they could do once they got started. Many a man still at work longed and plead to join the ranks of the strikers. "Stay on your job!" Many a government or business official had worked out a beautiful bit of volunteer organization which now can never see the light of day. "The strike's off!" "In another week we'd have had the scheme working to perfection!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Rates: Display: Graphic, 30 cents a line; Midmonthly, 30 cents a line. 14 agate lines to the inch. Want advertisements eight cents per word or initial, including address or box number. Minimum charge, first insertion, $1.50. Cash with orders. Discounts 5% on three insertions; 10% on six insertions.

Address Advertising Department **THE SURVEY** 112 East 19th Street New York City

WORKERS WANTED

WANTED immediately station workers during the Sesqui Centennial. Philadelphia Travelers Aid Society.

WANTED by health agency in New York City, publicity writer with some experience, year round job. Salary to start $2,000. 5525 SURVEY.

SUPERINTENDENT for cottage plan child-caring institution. Must be a good administrator and experienced in dealing with problem children. State qualifications, experience, references. Address President, Jewish Children's Society, 109 E. Redwood St., Baltimore, Md.

WANTED: experienced executive as director of Young Women's Hebrew Association. Good salary, comfortable living quarters. State age, education, experience. 5550 SURVEY.

WANTED: Director for large shop for handicapped persons, which is developing a general rehabilitation program. Executive and business ability essential. 5540 SURVEY.

JEWISH family welfare agency of high standards in large midwestern city needs two additional case workers with training and experience. Address Box No. 5539 SURVEY.

WANTED: Experienced boys' worker. Large settlement. Resident. Give experience, references, etc. 5542 SURVEY.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER for Child Guidance Clinic and secretary of Mental Hygiene Society. State salary, training, experience and when available. Health Conservation Association, Kansas City, Missouri.

WORKERS WANTED

WANTED: A cook (Jewish) for a small childrens' home in Bridgeport, Connecticut. 5549 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED CASE SUPERVISOR for family welfare society near New York City to supervise six case workers and train volunteers. Address 5546 SURVEY.

CASE WORKERS. Junior and senior case workers required in an Eastern city family welfare society. 5545 SURVEY.

OCTOBER FIRST; two thoroughly qualified men for evening work in New York Settlement. First, experienced gymnasium director knowing basket-ball. Second, mature leader for experimental work with self-governing groups. 5478 SURVEY.

WANTED: Recreation worker with experience in Dramatics. Young Women's Hebrew Association, 89 Rowena Ave., Detroit, Michigan.

WOMAN, Jewish, as head of girls' department in large Jewish institution. Middle West. Write Superintendent, 5000 Woodland Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

WANTED: Head Worker for Settlement and Day Nursery. Must have experience in case work and Settlement work and as a Director. Must live at the Settlement. 5551 SURVEY.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK. Family society wants high-grade district secretary by September 1st. Attractive position and salary for qualified person.

Address
John Sanderson, General Sec'y,
Social Welfare League
512 Cutler Bldg.

DO YOU NEED SOCIAL WORKERS?

Trained and experienced workers are available at once for such positions as—

Medical Social Service
Psychiatric Social Work
Settlement Work
Industrial Welfare
Family Case Work
Recreation Leader
Camp Counselors
Institutional: Superintendent
Dietitian, Cottage Mother,
Trained Nurse

Are you using this Comprehensive Discriminating Service?

Miss Holmes, herself a trained social worker, will give your problems her personal attention.

William D. Camp, President
Gertrude D. Holmes, Director

SOCIAL SERVICE DIVISION *of* Executive Service Corporation

100 East 42nd St. New York
Ashland 6000

WORKERS WANTED

142 142 142

positions open now and September 1st for experienced Social Workers in the fields of recreation, education, family welfare and community organization.

THE COLLEGIATE SERVICE, INC.
437 Fifth Avenue
New York City
No Charge for Registration

COOPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE. Social workers, secretaries, superintendents, matrons, housekeepers, dietitians, cafeteria managers. The Richards Bureau, 68 Barnes Street, Providence, R. I.

GRADUATE NURSES, dietitians, laboratory technicians for excellent hospital positions everywhere. Write for free book now. Aznoe's Central Registry for Nurses, 30 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

SITUATIONS WANTED

CAPABLE Jewish executive, legal training, experienced general social work and institutional; wife, teacher and matron; desires superintendency preferably orphanage or Old Folks Home. 5535 SURVEY.

SOCIAL WORKER, available July first. Eleven years' experience. Family case work, psychiatric experience, dependent and delinquent children, parole work. 5534 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED SOCIAL WORKER, college graduate, post-graduate education, capable of executive and supervisory position, wishes a position in child welfare work. Interested in Placement and Home Finding. 5536 SURVEY.

YOUNG LADY, college graduate, experienced social worker, wishes position as teacher in Biology, general science and sociology. Studied pedagogy. 5537 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE in girls work, experienced in handling large groups, is desirous of connecting with either institution or settlement where opportunity for organizing is available. 5529 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED community center and boys' worker desires position as Director of Jewish community center. Available July first. 5520 SURVEY.

SOCIAL worker with case work and settlement experience open for engagement. 5521 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE, sixteen years in all phases of orphanage activities, nine years as executive, college graduate, ready for vacancy as superintendent of Jewish Orphange. 5524 SURVEY.

FOR THE HOME

"Home-Making as a Profession"

Is a 30-pp. ill. handbook—it's FREE. Home-study Domestic Science courses, for teaching, institution management, etc., and for home-making efficiency. Am. School of Home Economics, 849 E. 58th St., Chicago

(In answering advertisements please mention THE SURVEY. *It helps us, it identifies you.)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SITUATIONS WANTED

CAPABLE Jewish executive, legal training, experienced general social work and institutional; wife, teacher and matron; desires superintendency preferably orphanage or Old Folks Home. 5535 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED DIRECTOR of Girls' and Womens' activities desires position in settlement or institution. Western community preferred. 5519 SURVEY.

A WOMAN of culture and advanced education, experienced in travel, who speaks easily and fluently, is willing to prepare lectures on any given subject for remuneration and travelling expenses. Would prefer the vicinity of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. 5527 SURVEY.

MAN, college graduate, Normal School diploma, twenty-five years public school principal and two years assistant superintendent, desires a position as Superintendent in a private school or an institution. Excellent references and strong personality. Present position, Assistant Superintendent of School for delinquent boys. 5533 SURVEY.

SUPERINTENDENT of Boys' Home, located in the city, desires to make change to one in the country. Available after September first. 5522 SUVEY.

COLLEGE MAN, several years experience business, farming, teaching, thorough knowledge French, Spanish, English, desires position. 5499 SURVEY.

MIDDLE-AGED WIDOW, with eight years experience as manager of family hotel, seeks institutional position as housemother. 5508 SURVEY.

YOUNG COLLEGE MAN desires opportunity for further study. Would like full or part time job as athletic director or Boys' Club Worker. Thorough musician. 5547 SURVEY.

GRADUATE of commercial school and university available for traveling position September first. Experienced in secretarial and social work. 5543 SURVEY.

JAPAN-COLUMBIA A. M. Sociology, eight years experience in Japan, wishes teaching, research or social work. Trained in scientific methods, speaks Japanese. Willing to go abroad. 5544 SURVEY.

POLISH worker with four years' miscellaneous case and group work experience also interpreting in medical clinic cases, wishes position. Good references. 5468 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED Case-work Executive, college woman, desires position with Philadelphia agency. 5548 SURVEY.

TEACHERS WANTED

TEACHERS Wanted for college and universities. American College Bureau, Chicago Temple, Chicago; 1256 Amsterdam Ave., New York.

SITUATIONS WANTED

TRAINED woman executive, eleven years social service experience—community organization—industrial and child welfare—specialist in recreation and leisure time programs for foreign born—adults—girls. 5526 SURVEY.

MIDDLE-AGED WIDOW, with eight years experience as manager of family hotel, seeks institutional position as housemother. 5508 SURVEY.

SOCIAL WORKER twelve years experience desires settlement or institutional work with children. Available June 15th. 5511 SURVEY.

COLLEGE GRADUATE, age twenty-three, wants position doing some kind of social work. Prefers to locate in middle or far west. 5541 SURVEY.

DIETITIAN, Pratt Training, experience. Interested in School, Club, or Hotel position. 5552 SURVEY.

FOR SALE

TRAVELING DENTAL CLINIC. Body built on one-ton Ford truck. Equipped with chair, engine, sterilizer, bracket and table, built-in cabinets, wash bowl equipped with running water. Price $563. 5538 SURVEY.

BOARD FOR CHILDREN

TEACHER with hospital training also, offers physical care, tutoring, outdoor life to several frail or difficult children. Beautiful country home. Interview invited. Mrs. E. HAMM, Tivoli-on-Hudson, N. Y.

FURNISHED APARTMENT NEW YORK CITY

FURNISHED APARTMENT, Greenwich Village. Four rooms, bath (kitchenette). Two fire places, attractive garden, subway, "L", bus, telephone. Sleeping accommodations for three. June 15 to September 15. Spring 9757 or 5512 SURVEY.

Big Profits in Home Cooking!
Alice Bradley, famous expert, shows just how to make home cooking, cake-making, candy-making give big profits. How to cater, run profitable TEA ROOMS. Motor Inns, Cafeterias, etc.—over 61 Ways to Make Money, in your own business or good positions. Write today for illus. booklet, "Cooking for Profit," it's FREE
School of Home Economics, 545 E. 58th St., Chicago

PERIODICALS

Fifty cents a line for four insertions, copy to remain unchanged.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING shows the part which trained nurses are taking in the betterment of the world. Put it in your library. $3.00 a year. 19 W. Main St., Rochester, N. Y.

MENTAL HYGIENE: quarterly: $3.00 a year: published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.

Printing
Multigraphing
Typewriting
Mailing

Better, Cheaper, Quicker

We have complete equipment and an expert staff to do your
Mimeographing
Multigraphing
Addressing
Mailing
If you will investigate you will find that we can do it better, quicker and *cheaper* than you can in your own office.
Let us estimate on your next job
Webster Letter Addressing & Mailing Company
34th Street at 8th Avenue
Longacre 2447

Fifth Avenue Letter Shop, Inc.
40 East 22nd Street
Multigraphing Typewriting | Caledonia 9664-5-6 | Mailing Addressing
Ask The Survey about Us!

STATIONERY

SPECIAL—250 bond letterheads, 250 envelopes, 250 cards—$5. 200 sheets personal stationery, 100 envelopes, $1. Nadolny, Box 583, Tarrytown, N. Y.

For Summer Cottages and Real Estate Advertisements
see page *446* of this issue.

CURRENT PAMPHLETS

Fifty cents a line for four insertions, copy to remain unchanged.

COOKING FOR PROFIT, by Alice Bradley, described home-study course, which includes catering, tea room, cafeteria and lunch room management. "51 Ways to Make Money" free. Am. School of Home Economics, 5772 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

AGED CLIENTS OF BOSTON SOCIAL AGENCIES, by a Group of Investigators and Social Workers, Lucile Eaves, Director. Experienced Social workers comment on studies based on over a thousand case histories of care given the aged. Order from the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 264 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., Cloth, 152 pp., $1.25.

CHICAGO STANDARD BUDGET FOR DEPENDENT FAMILIES (Revised). Chicago Council of Social Agencies, 308 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago. 25c per copy.

"PROGRAM OF A JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER—AN ADVENTURE IN COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION". Philip L. Seman, Jewish People's Institute, 1258 W. Taylor St., Chicago, Illinois. Single copy $.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summer Resorts
Cottages, Real Estate

TROUT LAKE CAMP

LAKE GEORGE STATION ON THE NEW YORK CENTRAL LINE
(FOR ADULTS)

A place of natural beauty and splendor in the heart of the Adirondack Mountains, 2400 feet above sea level.
An abode for recreation and regeneration
No boredom or lonesomeness,—Action, action and more action

BOATING — FISHING — DANCING, EXCURSIONS
SWIMMING — TENNIS — READINGS AND DISCUSSIONS
MUSICALS — BALL-GAMES — CHESS, CHECKERS, ETC.
EXCELLENT MEALS — FINE ATMOSPHERE

Rates $30.00 per week. Week ends $5.00 per day.
Mail your reservation with small deposit to
I. B. BAILIN, *Director Trout Lake Camp*
Diamond Point, N. Y.

A Summer Play Place For Selected People

Refresh your mind and your body by the sea

Informal discussions by distinguished speakers on psychology, psychoanalysis, literature, drama, life.

Subject: THE ART OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Duncan School of Dancing and Body Development.
Sea bathing, golf, tennis, horseback riding, tramps.

An informal summer place in the open.

Like a long sea voyage with none of its discomforts. Rates moderate.

Cavern on the Moors

Nantucket Island, Mass.

EVERY ROOM
WITH PRIVATE BATH AND SHOWER
CIRCULATING ICE WATER
AND ELECTRIC FAN

350 ROOMS
SAINT LOUIS, MO.
LOCUST AT 18TH STREET

400 ROOMS
MEMPHIS, TENN.
MAIN AT ADAMS STREET

LUXURIOUS QUARTERS — REASONABLE RATES

ONLY 3 SHORT BLOCKS FROM UNION STATION-EXCELLENT CUISINE-POPULAR PRICED CAFETERIA-GARAGE FACILITIES FINEST FURNISHED AND EQUIPPED HOTEL IN THE CITY.
RATES FROM $2.50 PER DAY.

THE SOUTH'S NEWEST AND FINEST HOTEL OPENED JUNE 1ST - SERVIDOR SERVICE - LARGE LIGHT SAMPLE ROOMS-HIGH CLASS CUISINE - POPULAR PRICE COFFEE SHOP-CONVENIENT GARAGE SERVICE.
RATES FROM $3.00 PER DAY.

New York

Keene Valley Inn, Keene Valley, N. Y. Adirondack Mts. Rates $18 to $30 per week. 75 rooms. Fresh vegetables, own garden. Tennis, dancing, golf course two miles. Special rates for Sept. W. W. BLOCK, Prop.

RESTACRE

Trained nurse owning home in delightful climate would care for limited number of convalescents or those wishing to rest. Comfortable, sunny rooms with sleeping-porch. Address P. O. Box 119, Red Hook, Dutchess Co., N. Y.

A Three-Room Bungalow

Two porches, on a little hill among trees; furnished for three people; near bathing, beach, at Great Kills, Staten Island. Apply ALMA E. GUY, 237 E. 104th St., N. Y. City.

Maine

ALAMOOSOOK Adult Camp on Lake in Maine Woods. Booklet. Miss E. M. BUCK, 159 N. Arlington Ave., East Orange, N. J.

IF YOU ENJOY OUTDOOR LIFE

and read the "Survey Graphic", the "Outlook", and "Atlantic Monthly" you will be satisfied with the COMMONWEALTH ART COLONY, BOOTHBAY HARBOR, MAINE. Art and music classes; good board; cool nights. Circular. Twenty-second year.

Connecticut

Mariarden, Peterborough, N. H. A summer colony in the pine woods. We live in cabins grouped or placed singly in pine groves. Refectory and recreation studio centrally located. Tennis, golf, swimming. Open June 25th. Reservations now. Rates from $35 weekly. FRANCES O. GRISDALE, Mgr. Until June 20 address Miss J. S. ORVIS, 666 Washington St., Wellesley, Mass.

Vermont

WANTED: Boarders in refined modern home, fine airy rooms, home cooking. Everything fresh and clean. Wonderful views near Lake Champlain. $21 per week. **J. A. Corey, North Ferrisburg, Vermont.**

Pennsylvania

Visit the Sesqui-Centennial

Few refined Christian people can secure rooms in private home in residential section of Philadelphia. All modern conveniences. 30 minutes to Exhibtion grounds. Rooms $5 per day for two. H. H. JOHNSON, 4013 Pine St., Philadelphia.

REAL ESTATE

Connecticut

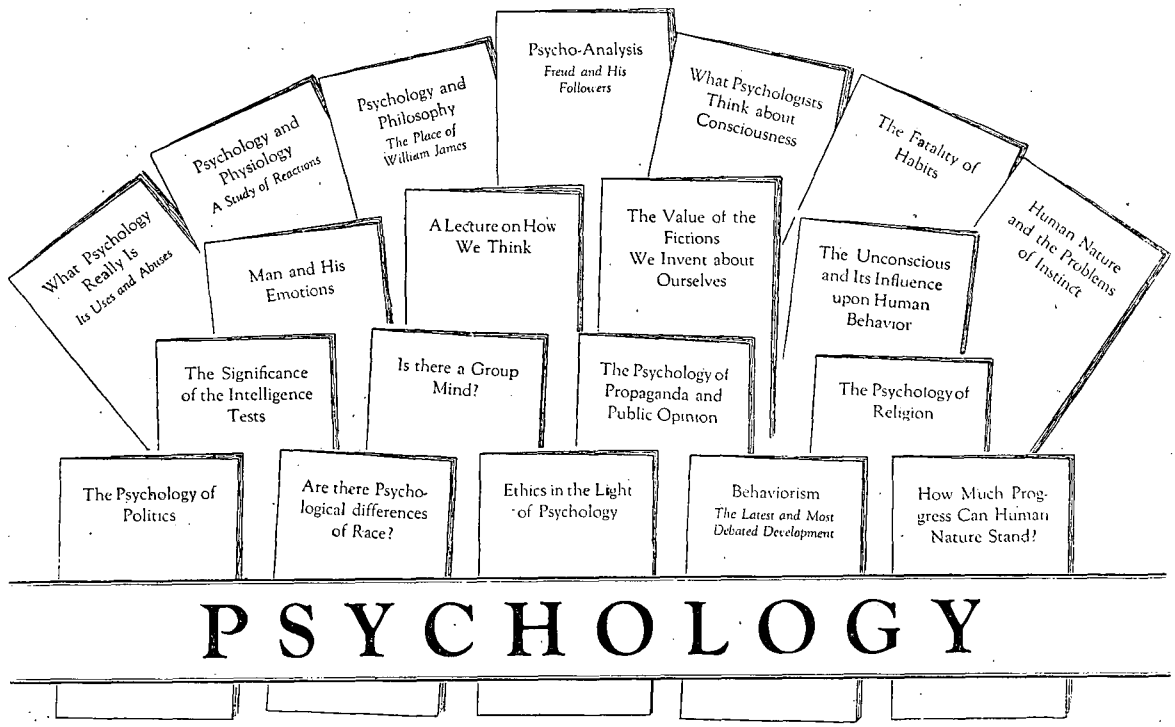
CENTURY old Colonial home for sale. Half-acre garden, trees. Nine rooms, baths, fireplaces, steam, sleeping porches. Adaptable two families. One thousand down, balance seventy monthly. Call Main 4488 for appointment, or write "Owner", 264 Flaxhill Road, South Norwalk, Conn.

FOR SALE

Charming Home near Rutland, Vt.

Accessible golf and trout streams, magnificent mountain views. Studio, porches, beautiful trees, over 2 acres. 10 rooms and bath, fireplace, furnace, modern conveniences. Attractively remodeled by refined people for permanent home. Must sell to settle estate. For particulars and photographs address
HOPE AVERY, Pittsford, Vt.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


What Psychology Really Is
Its Uses and Abuses
Psychology and Physiology
A Study of Reactions
Psychology and Philosophy
The Place of William James
Psycho-Analysis
Freud and His Followers
What Psychologists Think about Consciousness
The Fatality of Habits
Human Nature and the Problems of Instinct
Man and His Emotions
A Lecture on How We Think
The Value of the Fictions We Invent about Ourselves
The Unconscious and Its Influence upon Human Behavior
The Significance of the Intelligence Tests
Is there a Group Mind?
The Psychology of Propaganda and Public Opinion
The Psychology of Religion
The Psychology of Politics
Are there Psychological differences of Race?
Ethics in the Light of Psychology
Behaviorism
The Latest and Most Debated Development
How Much Progress Can Human Nature Stand?
PSYCHOLOGY

YOU can see for yourself from the chapter titles why Everett Dean Martin's PSYCHOLOGY has been called "the best introduction to psychology for the general reader."

¶ After reading these lectures-in-print you will have a rounded view of psychology from a man who is not an advocate of any one school, a lecturer whose audiences fill the big auditorium of Cooper Union.

¶ James and Freud, habits and instincts, intelligence tests and behaviorism, all fall into place in a book written in non-technical language.

¶ Each chapter is printed as a separate pamphlet, ideal form for vacation reading on trains and steamers and in shady nooks.

¶ And the separate chapters all fit back into a stiff cover that makes a book of them for your shelves.

Were $3—Now $2

¶ Survey Associates have bought all remaining copies of the edition issued in this form.

¶ They were published at $3. We offer them at $2 a copy while they last.

¶ No more copies will be issued in this form or at this price.

Order Now and Save $1

SURVEY ASSOCIATES
112 East 19th Street, New York

I enclose $..... (check or money order) for which please send me, by return mail, postpaid in the U. S..... copies of Psychology, by Martin, at $2 per copy. (Regular price $3.)

Name.....

Street, No......

City, State..... 7126

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When Seconds Count

"IN a flash it happened. . . . My little girl was hurt. And I could not do a thing to relieve her suffering. There we were—waiting—waiting. The minutes seemed hours. . . . Then along came a car and out jumped a man who began to work, scarcely saying a word. He cleansed her wounds and bound them up with gauze. . . . The doctor said later that he had probably saved her from serious infection. . . . perhaps had saved her life."

PROMPT and intelligent First Aid, deftly rendered, is a life-saving accomplishment when accidents occur—on the road, in the street, in homes or at work. Accidents may happen, any time, wherever you are. Then, of course, you will want to help. But all your sympathy and all your willingness will count for little unless you are prepared to act—quickly.

To prevent infection in minor cuts and wounds—first, apply iodine; second, cover wound with sterilized gauze; third, bind with aseptic gauze bandage; fourth, fasten bandage with adhesive plaster. If a large artery is cut, apply pressure upon it between the wound and the heart with the fingers or a knotted handkerchief. Release pressure every fifteen or twenty minutes so as not to cut off circulation entirely for too long a time.

—These are the things you can do before the doctor comes. Just a few First Aid materials are needed—but when they are needed, they are needed instantly. Seconds are precious!

Although automobile manufacturers are building sturdier cars than ever before, staunchly equipped with brakes and strong steering apparatus, the number of automobile accidents has steadily increased from year to year. In 1925 there were ten times as many deaths from this cause as there were in 1911.

Last year, more than 600,000 persons were seriously injured and 21,000 lost their lives. Because motor cars are easily handled, careless persons forget the tremendous power of these swift-moving vehicles.

A knowledge of what to do and a First Aid emergency equipment are invaluable—not only in the car but at home where injuries frequently occur from cuts, falls, burns, scalds or poisons. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will gladly mail you, without cost, a booklet on First Aid which tells the things you should know to be able to save lives.

HALEY FISKE, *President.*

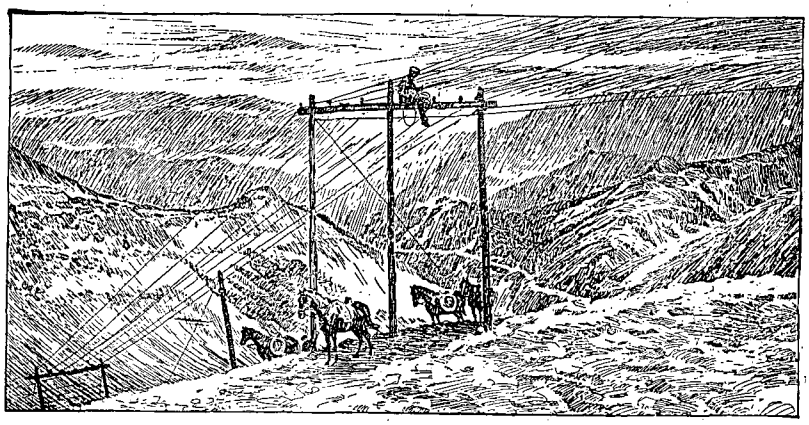
Published by

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY—NEW YORK

Biggest in the World, More Assets, More Policyholders, More Insurance in force, More new Insurance each year

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Telephone line over the Rocky Mountains



The Builders of the Telephone

SPANNING the country, under rivers, across prairies and over mountain ranges, the telephone builders have carried the electric wires of their communication network. Half a century ago the nation's telephone plant was a few hundred feet of wire and two crude instruments. The only builder was Thomas A. Watson, Dr. Bell's assistant.

It was a small beginning, but the work then started will never cease. In 50 years many million miles of wire have been strung, many million telephones have been installed, and all over the country are buildings with switchboards and the complicated apparatus for connecting each telephone with any other. The telephone's builders have been many and their lives have been rich in romantic adventure and unselfish devotion to the service.

Telephone builders are still extending and rebuilding the telephone plant. A million dollars a day are being expended in the Bell System in construction work to provide for the nation's growing needs.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

BELL SYSTEM

IN ITS SEMI-CENTENNIAL YEAR THE BELL SYSTEM LOOKS FORWARD TO CONTINUED PROGRESS IN TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SELECTING COMMITTEE OF THE BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, CHAIRMAN

HEYWOOD BROUN

DOROTHY CANFIELD

CHRISTOPHER MORLEY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

You can now subscribe to the best new books—

just as you do to a magazine

THE BEST NEW BOOK EACH MONTH IS SELECTED BY THIS COMMITTEE AND SENT YOU REGULARLY ON APPROVAL.

THINK over the last few years. How often have outstanding books appeared, widely discussed and widely recommended, books you were really anxious to read and fully intended to read when you "got around to it," but which nevertheless you *missed!* Why is it you disappoint yourself so frequently in this way?

The true reason lies in your habits of book-buying. Through carelessness, or through the driving circumstances of a busy life, you simply *overlook* obtaining books that you really want to read. Or you live in a district remote from bookstores, where it is impossible to get the best new books without difficulty.

This need be true no longer. A unique service has been organized, *which will deliver to you every month, without effort or trouble on your part, the best book of that month*, whether fiction or non-fiction. And if the book you receive is not one you would have chosen yourself, *you may exchange it for a book you prefer*, from a list of other new books that are recommended. In this way, automatically, you keep abreast of the best literature of the day.

These "best books" are chosen for you, *from the books of all publishers,* by a group of unbiased critics and writers, whose judgment as to books and whose catholicity of taste have been demonstrated for many years before the public. The members of this Selecting Committee, who have agreed to perform this service, are listed above. With each book sent there is always included some interesting comment by a member of the committee, upon the book and the author.

The price at which the books are billed to you is in every case the publisher's retail price. There are no extra charges for the service.

A very interesting prospectus has been prepared, explaining the many conveniences of this plan. This prospectus will convince you of several things: that the plan will really enable you always to "keep up" with the best of the new books; that you will never again, through carelessness, miss books you are anxious to read; that the recommendations of this unbiased committee will guide you in obtaining books that are really worth-while; that there is no chance of your purchasing books that you would not choose to purchase anyway; and that, in spite of the many conveniences of the plan, the cost of the books you get is no greater than if you purchased them yourself.

Send for this prospectus, using the coupon below or a letter. Your request will involve you in no obligation to subscribe.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
218 West 40th St. Dept. 35-G New York, N.Y.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
218 West 40th St., Dept. 35-G, New York, N.Y.

Please send me, without cost, your Prospectus outlining the details of the Book-of-the-Month Plan of Reading. This request involves me in no obligation to subscribe to your service.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED